Dr JEREMY TAYLOR.

Dr JEREMY TAYLOR.

THE LIFE

OF

BISHOP TAYLOR,

AND

The PUREST SPIRIT of his WRITINGS,

EXTRACTED AND EXHIBITED

FOR

GENERAL BENEFIT

BY

JOHN WHEELDON, A. M.

RECTOR of WHEATHAMPSTED, HERTS,

AND

PREBENDARY of LINCOLN.

If ſtudious, copy fair what Time has blurr'd,
Redeem Truth from its jaws. HERBERT.

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TO

TO THE HONOURABLE

FREDERIC CAVENDISH.

SIR,

THOSE who are acquainted with our two ſituations, reſpecting the conveniencies and comforts of life, will hardly ſuſpect this Dedication to have proceeded from any intentions merely ſordid: becauſe you have nothing to give, in my way, but a banquet inſtead of a benefit; and I have nothing to aſk, but the rare felicity of ſharing your convivial hours.

Beſides the complacency redounding from our converſation, I rejoice in heaving to you this wave-offering of my hand—the pureſt writings of a *Man clothed with a multitude of Mind*: for when Maſon, Hurd, and

Gray, ſo exquiſite as they are, by unanimous confeſſion, in all the excellencies of moral painting; when theſe Poets and Pen-men, in form and moving ſo expreſs and admirable, have taken Biſhop Taylor into their buſineſs and boſoms, I was determined to follow their example, in *gilding refined gold, and throwing a perfume on the violet.*

The Paſſage which Mr. Gay praiſes in a Letter to his Brother Poet, is the following ſelected out of Holy Living and Dying, (Page 17.)

" The Life of man comes upon him ſlowly
" and inſenſibly, as when the Sun approaching
" to the gates of the Morning, firſt opens
" a little eye of Heaven, and ſends away the
" Spirits of Darkneſs, and gives light to the
" Cock, and calls up the Lark to Mattins,
" and by and by gilds the fringes of a Cloud,
" and peeps over the Eaſtern Hills, thruſting

" out

" out his golden horns, like thoſe which be-
" decked the brows of Moſes, when he was
" forced to wear a veil, becauſe himſelf had
" ſeen the Face of God: and ſtill, while a
" man tells the ſtory, the Sun gets up higher,
" till he ſhews a fair face, and a full light;
" and then he ſhines one whole day, under a
" cloud often, and ſometimes weeping great
" and little ſhowers, and ſets quickly:—ſo is
" a Man's reaſon and his life; he firſt begins
" to perceive himſelf to ſee or taſte, making
" little reflections upon his actions of ſenſe,
" and can diſcourſe of flies and dogs, of ſhells
" and play, of horſes and liberty: but when
" he is ſtrong enough to enter into acts and
" little inſtitutions, he is at firſt entertained
" with trifles and impertinent things; not
" becauſe he needs them, but becauſe his
" underſtanding is no bigger, and little
" images of things are laid before him, like
" a Cock-boat to a Whale, only to play
" withal: but before he becomes to be wiſe,

" his body is decayed with gouts and con-
" ſumptions, and you can hardly reckon
" him to be alive, who is poſſeſſed by ſo
" many gradations of death."

The flaſhes of genius, in many writers, whether polemical or poetical, reſemble a painted flame, which amuſes the eye, without warming the heart: but whoever is introduced to the writings of Biſhop Taylor, by accident or deſign, muſt have a very depraved, or a very diſingenuous mind, that is not the better for his acquaintance.

In another page of the ſame Book, ſpeaking of Military Patience, (P. 69.) we read him thus, " If we conſider, how much men
" can ſuffer, if they liſt, and how much
" they do ſuffer, for great and little cauſes,
" and that no cauſes are greater than the
" proper cauſes of patience and ſickneſs, (that
" is, neceſſity and Religion) we cannot, with-
" out

" out great ſhame to our nature, to our perſons,
" and to our manners, complain of this tax and
" impoſt of nature. This experience added
" ſomething to the old philoſophy. When
" the Gladiators were expoſed naked to each
" others ſhort ſwords, and were to cut each
" others ſouls away in portions of fleſh, as
" if their forms had been as diviſible as the
" life of worms, they did not ſigh nor groan,
" and were aſhamed to decline the blow,
" but according to the juſt meaſures of art.
" The women, that ſaw the wound, ſhriek
" out, and he that receives it, holds his
" peace: be did nor only ſtand bravely, but
" would alſo fall ſo; and when he was down,
" ſcorned to ſhrink his head, when the in-
" ſolent conqueror came to ſhift it from his
" ſhoulders, and yet this man, in his firſt
" deſign, only aimed at liberty and the repu-
" tation of a good fencer; and when he ſunk
" down, he ſaw that he could only receive the

" honour of a bold man, the noiſe of which
" he ſhall never hear, when his aſhes are
" crammed in his narrow urn. And what
" can we complain of the weakneſſes of our
" ſtrengths, and the preſſures of diſeaſes,
" when we ſee a poor ſoldier ſtand in a breach,
" almoſt ſtarved with cold and hunger; and
" his cold apt to be relieved only with the
" heats of anger, a fever, or a fired muſquet,
" and his hunger ſlacked by a greater pain
" and a huge fear? This man ſhall ſtand in
" arms and wounds, *patiens luminis atque*
" *ſolis*, pale and faint, watchful and weary;
" and at night ſhall have a bullet pulled out
" of his fleſh, and ſhivers from his bones;
" and endure his mouth to be ſewed up from
" a violent rent to its own dimenſions;—and
" all this for the Majeſty of a man, whom he
" never ſaw,—or if he did, was not noted
" by him, but as one that ſhall condemn him
" to the gallows, if he ſhould attempt to run

" from

" from all this miſery. So then in a moral
" view, if vice and paſſion can ſupply to the
" tendant perſons ſtrengths more than enough
" for the ſufferance of the greateſt natural
" violence, can we ſuppoſe that honeſty,
" and Religion, and the Grace of God, are
" more nice, tender, and effeminate?"

In another Book, entitled the Worthy Communicant, we read him deſcribing the horrors of exceſſive fear, artificial, as well as natural, on the fancy, thus.

" Domitian was a cruel man, falſe and
" bloody, and to be near him was a perpe-
" tual danger, enough to try the conſtancy
" of the braveſt Roman. Once however,
" that he might be wanton in his cruelty,
" he invited the chief of the Patricii to ſup-
" per; who coming in obedience and fear
" enough, entered into a court all hung with
" black, and from thence were conducted

" into dining rooms by the *Pollinctors*, who
" uſed to dreſs the bodies unto funerals: the
" lights of Heaven we may ſuppoſe, were
" quite ſhut out by the night approaching,
" and acts of obſcurity; when they were in
" thoſe Charnel Houſes, (for ſo they ſeemed)
" every one was placed in order, a black
" pillar or coffin ſet by him, and in it a dim
" taper, beſmeared with brimſtone, that it
" might burn faint, and blue, and ſolemn:
" where, when they had ſtood a while, like
" deſigned ſacrifices, or as if the Prince
" were ſending them on a ſolemn embaſſy
" to the Prince of Darkneſs; on a ſudden
" entered ſo many naked Black-moors, or
" children beſmeared with the horrid juice
" of the Sepia; who having danced a little
" in phantaſtic and Devils poſtures, retired
" awhile, and then returned, ſerving up a
" banquet, as at ſolemn funerals, and wine
" brought in Urns inſtead of goblets; with
" deeper ſilence, now and then interrupted

" with

" with fearful groans and ſhriekings. Here
" the Senators, who poſſibly could have
" ſtruggled with the abſtracted thoughts of
" death, ſeeing it dreſſed in all the fearful
" images and ceremonies of the grave, had
" no power of a Roman courage, but falling
" into a lipothymy, or deep ſwooning, made
" up this pageantry of death with a repre-
" ſentment of it unto life. This ſcene of
" ſorrow was overacted, and it was a witty
" cruelty to kill a wiſe man by making him
" too imaginative and phantaſtical. It is not
" wiſe to break a ſtaff by too much trying
" the ſtrength of it, or to undo a man's ſoul
" by ſo uſeleſs a temptation, for he that tries
" himſelf farther than he hath need of, is
" like Palæmon's ſhepherd, who fearing the
" foot-bridge was not ſtrong enough, to try
" it, loaded it ſo long, till by his unequal
" trial, he broke that which would have
" bore a bigger burden than he had to carry

" over

" over it. Some things will better ſuffer " a long uſage than an unequal trial."

This was my motive, and was it not a pleaſing one? for giving theſe fine pieces in miniature to the world: not having dared to alter or retouch one original feature, but purely to revive their faded graces by the poliſh of a New Edition.

It were extravagant, and almoſt impoſſible, in a general encomium, to give the common reader an adequate idea of Taylor's amazing capacity. They who would fathom his mighty mind, muſt read all his works, which many cannot, which many will not, and which moſt are unable either to purchaſe or underſtand.

Theſe little pearls, which I have drawn from his ample ſtore, in preface will ſhine and gliſter, and be admired in a diſtinct poſition,

tion, but ſet in the full blaze of his other beauties, would be totally abſorbed and extinguiſhed in general excellence.

Let me then be indulged the vanity of adopting a quotation from an eminent writer,* in honour of two literary characters, to which my favourite, by your own conceſſion, is no ways inferior.

" To live in the voice and memory of men,
" is the flattering dream of every adventurer
" in letters; and for me who boaſt a venera-
" tion for two names,† whoſe virtues would
" atone for a bad age, and their abilities
" make a bad age a good one, for me not to
" aſpire to the beſt mode of this ideal exiſt-
" ence, the being carried down to remote
" ages, along with them who will never die,
" would argue a ſtrange inſenſibility to
" Human Glory."

* Bp. Warburton. † Taylor and Hooker.

A

FUNERAL SERMON,

PREACHED AT THE

OBSEQUIES

OF THE

RIGHT REVEREND FATHER IN GOD

JEREMY,

LORD BISHOP OF DOWN:

WHO DECEASED AT

LISBURNE,

AUGUST 13, 1667.

BY

GEORGE RUST,

LORD BISHOP OF DROMORE.

A FUNERAL SERMON.

1 JOHN, Chap. III, ver. 2.

It doth not yet appear, what we ſhall be.

GLORIOUS things are ſpoken in Scripture concerning the future reward of the righteous; and all the words that are wont to ſignify what is of greateſt price and value, or can repreſent the moſt enraviſhing objects of our deſires, are made uſe of by the Holy Ghoſt, to recommend unto us this tranſcendant ſtate of bleſſedneſs: ſuch are theſe: rivers of pleaſures; a fountain of living water; a treaſure that can never be waſted nor taken away; an inheritance in light; an incorruptible crown; a kingdom, the kingdom of God and Chriſt; a crown of glory; righteouſneſs and immortality — the viſion of God; being filled with all the fullneſs of God.

An

An exceeding and eternal weight of glory; words too big for any expreſſion; and after all that can be ſaid, we muſt reſolve with our Apoſtle: it does not yet appear what we ſhall be.

At this diſtance we cannot make any gueſſes or conjectures at the glory of that future ſtate. Men make very imperfect deſcriptions of countries or cities, that never ſaw the places with their own eyes. It is not for any mortal creature to make a map of that Canaan, that lies above: it is to all of us, on this ſide the grave, an undiſcovered country. It may be, ſome Heavenly Pilgrim, that with holy thoughts and ardent deſires is travelling thitherward, arrives ſometimes near the borders of the Promiſed Land, and gets upon the top of Piſgah, and there has an imperfect proſpect of a brave country, that lies afar off; but he cannot tell how to deſcribe it; and all he can utter to a curious enquirer, *is only this:* If he would know the

the glories of it, he muſt go and ſee it. It was believed of old, that thoſe places which lie under the Line, in continual heat, were not habitable by man or beaſt: but later diſcoveries tell us, that they are the moſt pleaſant countries upon earth. Of all the regions of the intellectual world, under the direct beams of the Sun of Righteouſneſs, is an eternal Spring, where the Tree of Life beareth twelve manner of fruits, and yieldeth her fruit every month: thus we tell of fruitful meads, and ſpacious fields, and winding rivers, and purling brooks, and chanting birds, and ſhady groves, and lovely bowers, and pleaſant gardens, and ſtately palaces, and goodly people, and excellent laws, and ſweet ſocieties; and juſt ſuch diſcourſes as a blind man would make about colours, ſo do we talk of thoſe things we never ſaw, and diſparage the ſtate while we would recommend it: when St. Paul was

caught up into the third Heaven, he ſaw things unutterable by a mortal tongue; and it does not yet appear what we ſhall be, ſaid the beloved Diſciple, that lay in our Saviour's boſom.

What our eagle-ſighted Evangeliſt acknowledges, not yet to appear in perfection, we muſt be content imperfectly to repreſent: but it is the beginning and the beauty of divine conſolation to read and be aſſured, that vanity and miſery in that Paradiſe have no place. Here the worm lies at the root of our enjoyments, and the gourd, in whoſe ſhade we are ſo much, grows up in a night, and in a night will periſh: but Heaven is not ſubject to theſe uncertainties, though ſorrow may endure for a night in this world, yet joy will ſpring up in the morning of eternity.

The robes of glory which are promiſed to the faithful in their happy reſurrection, will be

be accommodated to the ſoul in her higheſt exaltations. And this is an argument, that the Goſpel dwells ſo much upon the redemption of our bodies, like unto his glorious body; and we are taught to look upon it as one great point of our reward, that we ſhall put on immortality, and bear the image of the Heavenly Adam: and this is founded upon the higheſt reaſon: for though it is diſputable whether the ſoul can act independently of all matter whatever, at leaſt we are aſſured that the ſtate of conjunction is moſt con-natural to her, and that intellectual pleaſure itſelf is not only multiplied, but the better felt, by its redundancy upon the body and ſpirits: and if it be ſo, then the purer and more defecate the body is, the better will the ſoul be appointed for the exerciſe of its nobleſt operations.

The oracle tells Amelius, enquiring what was become of Polinus's ſoul, that he was

gone to Pythagoras, and Socrates, and Plato, and as many as had borne a part in the choir of heavenly love. And we may ſay to every good man; that he ſhall go to the company of Prophets and Apoſtles, and all the holy men in all ages of the world, that have been the ſalt of the earth, to preſerve mankind from utter degeneracy and corruption. And which is more than all, to the head of our recovery, the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, whoſe ſtory is now ſo delightful, for innocence and patience, and mercy and benignity, and his deep compaſſion for mankind. And if St. Auguſtine made it one of his wiſhes, to have ſeen Jeſus Chriſt in the fleſh, how much more deſirable is it, to ſee him out of his terreſtrial weeds, in his robes of glory! And this I cannot but look upon as a great advantage and privilege of a future ſtate: for I am not apt to ſwallow down the conceit of the ſchools, that we ſhall ſpend eternity in gazing upon the naked deity; but our great

part

part of Heaven will be the bleſſed ſociety in their many manſions; their enraviſhing beauty, their inward life and perfection, flowering forth, and raying itſelf through their glorified bodies:—the rare diſcourſes of converſation;—their pure and ſpotleſs, and yet moſt ardent embraces of love;—their ecſtatic devotions among ſeraphim and angels—and prophets, and apoſtles, and martyrs; ſinging hallelujahs to the Father of Spirits, and to the Lamb for ever and ever: for truth and goodneſs are the communications of the divine nature, which never ſatiate, but enlarge the ſoul for receptions to immenſity.

Salvation, ſays the Areopagite, can no otherways be accompliſhed, than becoming God-like: it does not appear what we ſhall be, but when he ſhall appear, we ſhall be like him, ſays our Evangeliſt, for we ſhall ſee him as he is. If the ſovereignty of God ſhould diſpenſe with our obedience, the nature of the thing would not permit us to be happy

without it. If we live only the animal life, we may be happy as beaſts are happy; but the happineſs that belongs to a rational, intellectual being, muſt reſult from a ſenſe of holineſs, and a conformity to all God's infinite perfections.

Supreme glory in the manſions, is ſhadowed forth to believers obedient, in theſe words.—*Father! I will, that they whom thou haſt given me, be with me where I am, that they may behold my glory:* and having overcame their ſpiritual enemies, *they ſhall eat of the hidden manna, and become pillars in the Temple of God, and ſhall go out no more; they ſhall ſtand before the throne of God continually, and ſerve him day and night in his temple, and he that ſitteth on the throne ſhall dwell amongſt them.* This is that ſilent touch with God, that fills the ſoul with inexpreſſible joy and triumph; but the perfect underſtanding of them, belongs to the future ſtate of comprehenſion. And then how pleaſant beyond all imagination, muſt

muſt it be for the ſoul to be ſwallowed up in eternal ſweetneſs, like a ſpark in the fire, or a beam in the ſun, or a drop in the ocean!

But though it does not yet appear what we ſhall be, ſo much already appears of it, in a few cluſters of this good land, that we may feed in thought with a moſt unbounded imagination: for till we come to enjoyment, all the words in the world cannot convey the notion of it into our minds, and it is only to be underſtood by them that feel it. In our way through this wilderneſs, towards the heavenly Jeruſalem, we ſhould be clearing our eyes for the viſion of God, and calm our ſpirits in ſuch aſpirations.

1. Like as the Hart deſireth the water-brooks, ſo longeth my ſoul after thee, O God!

2. My ſoul is athirſt for God, yea, even for the living God, when ſhall I come to appear before the preſence of God?

3. My tears have been my meat day and night, while they daily ſay unto me, where is now thy God?

4. Now when I think thereupon, I pour out my heart by myſelf: for I went with the multitude, and brought them forth into the houſe of God.

5. In the voice of praiſe and thankſgiving, among ſuch as keep holy-day.

6. Why art thou ſo full of heavineſs, O my ſoul! and why art thou ſo diſquieted within me?

7. Put thy truſt in God; for I will yet give him thanks for the help of his countenance.

8. My God! my ſoul is vexed within me; therefore will I remember thee concerning the land of Jordan, and the little hill of Hermon.

9. One deep calleth another, becauſe of the noiſe of the water-pipes; all thy waves and ſtorms are gone over me.

10. The

10. The Lord hath granted his loving kindneſs in the day-time; and in the night-ſeaſon did I ſing of him, and made my prayer to the God of my life.

That he would breathe into our minds thoſe ſtill and gentle gales of divine inſpirations, that like ſo many rivulets, we may be continually moving to the ocean from whence we came; that we may ſo perfectly diſcharge ourſelves of all ſtrange deſires and paſſions, that our ſouls may be nothing elſe but a deep emptineſs and vaſt capacity to be filled with the fulneſs of God! Let but theſe be the breathing of our ſpirits, and this divine magnetiſm will drown God into our ſouls, and we ſhall have ſome prelibations of that happineſs; ſome ſmall glimpſes, and little diſcoveries whereof, is all that belongs to this ſtate of mortality.

I have as yet done but half of my text: and have another text yet to preach upon, and a very large and copious one; The great perſon,

perſon, whoſe obſequies we come here to celebrate. His fame is ſo great throughout the world, that he ſtands in no deed of an encomium; and yet his worth is much greater than his fame: it is impoſſible not to ſpeak great things of him, and yet it is impoſſible to ſpeak what he deſerves: and the meanneſs of an oration, will but ſully the brightneſs of his excellencies: but cuſtom requires that ſomething ſhould be ſaid, and it is a duty and a debt that we owe only to his memory: and I hope his great ſoul, if it hath any knowledge of what is done here below, will not be offended at the ſmallneſs of our offering.

He was born at Cambridge, and brought up in the free ſchool there; and was ripe for the Univerſity, before cuſtom would allow of his admittance: but by that time he was thirteen years old, he was entered into Caius College, and as ſoon as he was Graduate, he was choſen Fellow. Had he lived

lived among the ancient Pagans, he had been uſhered into the world with a miracle, and ſwans muſt have ſung at his birth; and he muſt have been a great hero, and no leſs than the ſon of Apollo, the God of Wiſdom and Eloquence.

He was a man long before he was of age: and knew little more of the ſtate of childhood, than its innocence and pleaſantneſs. From the Univerſity, by that time he was Maſter of Arts, he removed to London, and became public lecturer in the church of St. Paul's; where he preached to the admiration and aſtoniſhment of his auditory; and by his florid and youthful beauty, and ſweet and pleaſant air, and ſublime and raiſed diſcourſes, he made his hearers take him for ſome young angel, newly deſcended from the viſions of glory: the fame of this new ſtar, that outſhone all the reſt of the firmament, quickly came to the notice of the great Arch-Biſhop of Canterbury, who would

would needs have him preach before him: which he performed not leſs to his wonder than ſatisfaction: his diſcourſe was beyond exception, and beyond imitation, yet the wiſe prelate thought him too young: but the great youth humbly begged his grace to pardon that fault, and promiſed, if he lived, he would mend it. However, the great patron of learning and ingenuity, thought it for the advantage of the world, that ſuch mighty parts ſhould be afforded better opportunities of ſtudy and improvement, than a courſe of common preaching would allow of: and to that purpoſe he placed him in his own college of All-Souls in Oxford, where love and admiration ſtill waited upon him: which ſo long as there is any ſpark of ingenuity in the breaſts of men, muſt needs be the inſeparable attendants of ſo extrordinary a worth and ſweetneſs. He had not been long here, before my Lord of Canterbury beſtowed upon him

him the Rectory of Uphingham in Rutlandſhire, and ſoon after preferred him to be Chaplain to King Charles the Martyr, of bleſſed and immortal memory. Thus were preferments heaped upon him, but ſtill leſs than his deſerts; and that not through the fault of his great maſters, but becauſe the ampleſt honour and rewards were inconſiderable, compared with the greatneſs of his merit.

This great man had no ſooner launched into the world, but a fearful tempeſt aroſe, and a barbarous, unnatural war diſturbed a long uninterrupted peace and tranquility, and brought all things into diſorder and confuſion: but his religion taught him to be loyal, and engaged him on his prince's ſide, whoſe cauſe and quarrel he always owned and maintained with a great courage and conſtancy; till at laſt, he and his little fortune were ſhip-

wrecked

wrecked in that great hurricane, that overturned both Church and State.

This fatal ſtorm caſt him aſhore in a private corner of the world, and a tender providence ſhrouded him under her wings, and the prophet was fed in the wilderneſs; and his great worthineſs procured him friends, that ſupplied him with bread and neceſſaries. In this ſolitude he began to write thoſe excellent diſcourſes, which are enough of themſelves to furniſh a library, and will be famous to all ſucceeding generations, for their greatneſs of wit, and profoundneſs of judgment, and richneſs of fancy, and clearneſs of expreſſion, and copiouſneſs of invention, and general uſefulneſs to all the purpoſes of a Chriſtian: and by theſe he got a reputation among all perſons of judgment and indifferency, and his name will grow greater ſtill, as the world grows better and wiſer. When he had ſpent ſome years in his

his retirement, it pleaſed God to viſit his family with ſickneſs, and to take to himſelf the dear pledges of his favour, three ſons of great hopes and expectations, within the ſpace of two or three months: and though he had learned a quiet ſubmiſſion to the divine will, yet the affliction touched him ſo ſenſibly, that it made him deſirous to leave the country: and going to London, he there met my Lord Conway, a perſon of great honor and generoſity, who making him a kind proffer, the good man embraced it, and that brought him over into Ireland and ſettled him at Portmore, a place made for ſtudy and contemplation, which he therefore dearly loved: and here he wrote his Caſes of Conſcience; a book that is able alone to give its author immortality.

By this time the wheel of Providence brought about the King's happy reſtoration; and there began a new world, and the ſpirit of

of God moved upon the face of the waters, and out of a confuſed chaos brought forth beauty and order, and all the three nations were inſpired with a new life, and became drunk with an exceſs of joy: among the reſt, this loyal ſubject went over to congratulate the prince and people's happineſs, and bear a part in the univerſal triumph. It was not long ere his Sacred Majeſty began the ſettlement of the Church, and the great Doctor Jeremy Taylor, was reſolved upon for the Biſhoprick of Down and Conner; and not long after Dromore was added to it: and it was but reaſonable, that the King and Church ſhould conſider their champion, and reward the pain and ſufferings he underwent, in defence of their cauſe and honour. With what care and faithfulneſs he diſcharged his office, we are all witneſſes; what good rules and directions he gave his clergy, and how he taught us the practice of them by his own example. Upon his coming over

Biſhop

Biſhop he was made a Privy-Counſeller; and the Univerſity of Dublin gave him their teſtimony, by recommending him for their Vice-chancellor, which honourable office he kept to his dying day.

During his being in this See, he wrote ſeveral excellent diſcourſes; particularly his Diſuaſive from Popery, which was received with general approbation. This great prelate improved his talents with a mighty induſtry, and managed his ſtewardſhip rarely well; and his maſter, when he called for his accounts, found him buſy, and at his work, and employed upon an excellent ſubject: *A Diſcourſe upon the Beatitudes*—which, if finiſhed, would have been of great uſe to the world, in all the varieties of a Chriſtian ſtate; but the All-wiſe God hath ordained it otherwiſe, and hath called home his good ſervant, to give him a portion in that bleſſedneſs, which Chriſt hath promiſed to his faithful Diſciples.

Thus having given you a brief account of his life, I know, you will expect a character of his perſon; but, I foreſee, it will befall him, as it does all glorious ſubjects, that are but diſparaged by a commendation: one thing I am ſecure of, that I ſhall not be thought to ſpeak hyperboles; for the ſubject can hardly be reached by any expreſſion: for he was none of God's ordinary works, but his endowments were ſo many, and ſo great, as really made him a miracle.

Nature had befriended him much in his conſtitution: for he was a perſon of a moſt ſweet and obliging humour, of great candour and ingenuity: and there was ſo much of ſalt and fineneſs of wit, and prettineſs of addreſs in his familiar diſcourſes, as made his converſation have all the pleaſantneſs of a comedy, and all the uſefulneſs of a ſermon. His ſoul was made up of harmony, and he never ſpake but he charmed his hearer, not only

only with the clearneſs of his reaſon, but all his words, and his very tone and cadencies were ſtrangely muſical.

But, that which did moſt of all captivate and enraviſh, was the gaiety and richneſs of fancy: for he had much in him of that natural enthuſiaſm, that inſpires all great poets and orators: and there was a generous ferment in his blood and ſpirits, that ſet his fancy bravely at work, and made it ſwell and teem, and become pregnant to ſuch degrees of luxuriancy, as nothing but the greatneſs of his wit and judgment could have kept it within due bounds and meaſures.

And indeed it was a rare mixture, and a ſingle inſtance hardly to be found in an age; for the great tryer of wits has told us, that there is a peculiar and ſeveral complexion required for *wit*, and *judgment*, and *fancy*: and yet you might have found all theſe in this great perſonage, in their eminency and

perfection. He was one of thoſe philoſophers, that ingenuouſly ſought for truth among all the wrangling ſchools. With a large freedom of ſpirit, he weighed mens reaſons, not their names: he conſidered that obedience is the only way to true knowledge, (an argument that he has handled rarely well in that excellent ſermon of his, which he calls *Via Intelligentiæ)* that God always and only teaches docible and ingenuous minds, that are willing to hear and ready to obey the light: that it is impoſſible, a pure, humble, reſigned, God-like ſoul ſhould be kept out of Heaven, whatever miſtakes it might be ſubject to in a ſtate of mortality: that the deſign of Heaven was not to fill mens heads, and feed their curioſities, but to better their hearts and mend their lives. Such conſiderations as theſe made him impartial in his diſquiſitions, and gave a due allowance to the reaſons of his adverſary, and contend for truth and not victory.

To

To theſe advantages of nature and excellency of ſpirit, he added an indefatigable induſtry, and God gave a plentiful benediction; for there were a few kinds of learning but he was a myſtes and great maſter in them, in antient moraliſts, poets and orators, and the refined wits of Italy and France.

His ſkill was great both in the civil and canon law, and caſuiſtical divinity: he was a rare conductor of ſouls, and knew how to counſel, and to ſolve difficulties, and to quiet conſciences. In his younger years he met with ſome aſſaults from Popery; and the high pretenſions of their religious orders were very accommodate to his devotional temper: but he was always ſo much maſter of himſelf, that he would never be governed by any thing but reaſon, and the evidence of truth, which engaged him in the ſtudy of thoſe controverſies; and to how good purpoſe, the world is by this time a ſufficient witneſs: but the longer and the more he conſidered,

the worſe he liked the Roman cauſe, and became at laſt to cenſure them with ſome ſeverity: but I have ſo great an opinion of his judgment and the charitableneſs of his ſpirit, that I am afraid, he did not think worſe of them than they deſerved.

To make a right uſe of our paſſions is a greater glory than all other accompliſhments; and thus he would lend a ready ear to the complaints, yea to the impertinencies of the meaneſt perſons: and whoever compares his plentiful incomes, with the inconſiderable eſtates that he left at his death, will be eaſily convinced, that charity was a ſteward for a great proportion of his revenue.

To ſum up all in a few words—This great Prelate had the good humour of a gentleman, the eloquence of an orator, the fancy of a poet, the acuteneſs of a ſchoolman, the profoundneſs of a philoſopher, the wiſdom of a counſellor, the ſagacity of a prophet, the reaſon of an angel, and the piety of

of a ſaint: he had devotion enough for a cloyſter, learning enough for an univerſity, and wit enough for a college of virtuoſi: and had his parts and endowments been parcelled out among his poor clergy that he left behind him, it would perhaps have made one of the beſt dioceſes in the world. But alas! our father! our father! the horſes of our Iſrael! and the chariots thereof! he is gone and has carried his mantle with him, and his ſpirit to Heaven, and the ſons of the prophets have loſt all that beauty and luſtre which they enjoyed only from a reflexion of his excellencies, which were bright and radiant enough to caſt a glory upon a whole order of men. But he, the Sun of this our world, is now ſwallowed up in the great vortex of eternity, and there all his maculæ are ſcattered and diſſolved, and he ſhines among his brethren-ſtars, that in their ſeveral ages gave light to the world, and turned many ſouls to righteouſneſs; and we that are left behind,

though beneath his perfections, may imitate his virtues, that we may at laſt ſit together with him, even at his feet, in the manſions of glory; which God grant for his infinite mercies in Jeſus Chriſt: to whom, with the Father and Eternal Spirit be aſcribed all honour and glory, worſhip and thankſgiving, love and obedience, now and evermore. *Amen.*

This I call the Life of Biſhop TAYLOR; *and I preſume, that the following Pieces, which are all his precious compoſitions, will ſufficiently convince the preſent Age that every Part of his Character is truly delineated.*

THE

THE MARRIAGE RING,

OR

The MYSTERIOUSNESS and DUTIES of MARRIAGE.

EPHES. Chap. V, ver. 32. 33.

This is a great Myſtery, but I ſpeak concerning Chriſt and his Church. Nevertheleſs let every one of you in particular, ſo love his Wife, even as himſelf, and the Wife ſee, that ſhe reverence her Huſband.

THE firſt bleſſing God gave to man, was ſociety: and that ſociety was marriage, and that marriage was confederate by God himſelf, and hallowed by a bleſſing:—and at the ſame time, and for very many deſcending ages, not only by the inſtinct of nature, but by a ſuſpended forwardneſs, (God

(God himſelf inſpiring the deſire) the world was moſt deſirous of children, impatient of barrenneſs, accounting ſingle life a curſe, and a childleſs perſon hated by God.

The world then was rich and empty, and able to provide for a more numerous poſterity than it had. You, that are rich, *Numenius*, you may multiply your family: poor men are not ſo fond of children. But when a family could drive their herds, and ſet their children upon camels, and lead them till they ſaw a fat ſoil, watered with rivers, and there ſit down without paying rents;——they thought of nothing but to have great families; that their own relations might ſwell up to a Patriarchate; and their children be enough to poſſeſs all the regions they ſaw, and their grand-children become Princes, and themſelves build cities, and call them by the name of a child, and become the fountain of a nation. This was the conſequent of the firſt bleſſing, "*Increaſe and multiply.*"

The

The next bleſſing was, "*the Promiſe of* "*the Meſſiah*," and that alſo increaſed in men and women a wonderful deſire of marriage; for as ſoon as God had choſen the family of Abraham to be the bleſſed line, from whence the world's Redeemer ſhould deſcend according to the fleſh, every one of his daughters hoped to have the honour to be his mother, or his grandmother, or ſomething of his kindred: and to be childleſs in Iſrael, was a ſorrow to the Hebrew women, great as their ſlavery in Ægypt, or their diſhonours in the land of their captivity.

But when the Meſſiah was come, and the Doctrine was publiſhed, and his Miniſters but few, and his Diſciples were to ſuffer perſecution, and to be of an unſettled dwelling, and the nation of the Jews, in the boſom and ſociety of which the church eſpecially did dwell, were to be ſcattered and broken all in pieces, with fierce calamities—and the world was apt to calumniate,

and

and ſuſpect, and diſhonour Chriſtians upon pretences and unreaſonable jealouſies, and that to all theſe purpoſes, marriage brought many inconveniencies; it pleaſed God in this new creation, to inſpire into the hearts of his ſervants a diſpoſition and ſtrong deſires to live a ſingle life; leſt the ſtate of marriage, in that conjunction of things, ſhould become an accidental impediment to the diſſemination of the Goſpel, which called men from a confinement in their domeſtic charges to travel, and flight, and poverty, and difficulty, and martyrdom. It was eaſier then for the Chriſtians themſelves, who were to flee, and for ought they knew in the winter, and were perſecuted to the four winds of heaven; and the nurſes, and the women with child were to ſuffer a heavier load of ſorrow, becauſe of the imminent perſecutions; and above all, becauſe of the great fatality of ruin upon the whole nation of the Jews, well might it be ſaid by St. Paul, *ſuch ſhall have*

have trouble in the flesh. But when the case is altered, and that storm was over, and the first necessities of the Gospel served, and the sound was gone out unto all nations, in very many persons it was wholly changed, and not only the married, but the unmarried also had trouble in the flesh; and the state of marriage returned to its first blessing, and it was not good for man to be alone.

But in this first interval, the public necessity, and the private zeal mingling together, did sometimes overact their love of single life, even to the disparagement of marriage and the scandal of Religion: which was increased by some pious persons renouncing their contract of marriage, not consummate with believers. — For when Flavia Domitilla, being converted by Nereus and Achilleus the eunuchs, refused to marry Aurelianus to whom she was contracted; if there was not some little envy and too sharp hostility to a married state, yet Aurelianus

relianus thought himſelf an injured perſon, and cauſed St. Clemens, who vailed her and her ſpouſe both, to die in the quarrel. St. Thecla, being converted by St. Paul, grew ſo in love with virginity, that ſhe leaped back from the marriage of Tamyris, where ſhe was lately engaged. Suſanna, the niece of Dioclefian, refuſed the love of Maximianus the Emperor; and all theſe had been betrothed: ſo did St. Agnes and St. Felicula, and divers others: inſomuch that it was reputed among the Gentiles, that the Chriſtians not only hated all that were not of their perſuaſion, but were enemies of the chaſte laws of marriage: and indeed, ſome that were called Chriſtians, were ſo, forbidding to marry, and to abſtain from meats—upon this occaſion it grew neceſſary for the Apoſtle to ſtate the queſtion right, and to do honour to the holy rite of marriage—to ſnatch the myſtery from the hands of zeal and folly, and to place it in Chriſt's

right

right hand—that all its beauties might appear, and a preſent convenience might not bring in a falſe doctrine, and a perpetual ſin, and an intolerable miſchief: the Apoſtle therefore, who himſelf had been a married man, but was now a widower, explicated the myſteriouſneſs of it, and deſcribes its honours, and adorns it with rules and proviſions of Religion; that as it begins with honour, ſo it may proceed with piety, and end in glory.

For although ſingle life hath privacy in it, and ſimplicity of affairs—ſuch leiſure and unactive circumſtances of living, that there are more ſpaces for Religion, if men would uſe them to thoſe purpoſes; and becauſe it may have in it much Religion and Prayer, and is therefore a ſtate of great excellency; yet concerning the ſtate of marriage, we are taught from Scripture and the ſayings of wiſe men, great things and honourable; ſingle life is never commanded, but in ſome caſes

caſes marriage is.—He, that cannot contain, muſt marry; and he, that can contain, is not tied to a ſingle life, but may marry, and not ſin. God gave to man, in Paradiſe, not a friend, but a wife, that is, a friend, and a wife too; that ſhe may have the excellency of the one, and the uſefulneſs of the other, and become amiable in both: marriage is the ſeminary of the Church, was miniſtred to by Angels, and Raphael waited upon a young man, that his marriage might repair two families, and bleſs all their relatives.—Our bleſſed Lord, though he was born of a Maiden, yet he was vailed under the cover of marriage, and ſhe was married to a widower, for Joſeph is ſaid to have children by a former wife.—The firſt miracle that Jeſus did, was to do honour to a wedding: it was in the world before ſin, and is in all ages, the moſt effective antidote againſt it, in which all the world had periſhed, if God had not provided a remedy:—and though

ſin

ſin hath ſoured marriage, and ſtuck the man's head with cares, and the woman's bed with ſorrows in the production of children, yet theſe are but throws of life and glory, and ſhe ſhall be ſaved in child-bearing, if ſhe be found in faith and righteouſneſs.

Marriage is a ſchool and exerciſe of virtue; and though it has cares, yet ſingle life has deſires which are more troubleſome and dangerous, and often end in ſin, while the cares are but inſtances of duty and exerciſes of piety:——in two virtues, ſingle life may have the advantage of degrees ordinarily and commonly, that is, charity and devotion; yet in marriage theſe virtues may equally be exerciſed:—here is the proper ſcene of piety and patience, of the duty of parents, and the charity of relations—here the kindneſs is ſpread abroad, and love is united, and made firm as a centre.—The virgin ſends prayers to God, but ſhe carries but one ſoul to him—while the ſtate of marriage fills up

the numbers of elect, and hath in it the labour of love and the delicacies of friendſhip, the bleſſing of ſociety, and the union of hands and hearts—it hath in it leſs of beauty, but more of ſafety than the ſingle life; it is more merry and more ſad; it is fuller of ſorrows, and fuller of joys; it lies under more burdens, but is ſupported by all the ſtrengths of love and charity, and thoſe burdens are delightfull:—ſingle life, like a fly in the heart of an apple, dwells in ſweetneſs, but ſits alone, and is confined, and dies in ſingularity:—but marriage like the uſeful bee, builds a houſe, and gathers ſweetneſs from every flower, and ſends out colonies, and feeds the world, and obeys kings, and keeps order, and exerciſes many virtues, and promotes the intereſt of mankind, and is that ſtate of good things, to which God hath deſigned the preſent conſtitution of the world.

I ſhall

I ſhall now propound the duty of man and wife in conjunction; in Chriſt and his Church; that begins all, and there is great need it ſhould be ſo; for they that enter into the marriage ſtate, caſt the die of the greateſt contingency, and yet of the greateſt intereſt in the world, next to the laſt throw for eternity: life and death, felicity, or a laſting ſorrow are in the power of marriage: a woman indeed ventures moſt, for ſhe has no ſanctuary to flee to from an evil huſband: ſhe muſt dwell upon her ſorrow, and hatch the eggs which her own folly and infelicity have produced: and ſhe is more under it, becauſe her tormentor hath a warrant of prerogative, and ſhe may complain to God, as ſubjects do of tyrant princes, but otherwiſe ſhe hath no appeal in the cauſes of unkindneſs: and though the man can run from many hours of his ſadneſs, yet he muſt return to it again, and when he ſits among his neighbours, he remembers the

objection that lies in his boſom, and he ſighs deeply.

The ſtags in the Greek Epigram, whoſe knees were clogged with frozen ſnow upon the mountains, came down to the brooks of the valleys, hoping to thaw their joints with the waters of the ſtream; but there the froſt overtook them, and bound them faſt in ice, till the young herdſmen took them in their ſtrange ſnare. It is the unhappy chance of many men, finding many inconveniencies upon the mountains of ſingle life, to deſcend into the vallys of marriage to refreſh their troubles; and there they enter into fetters, and are bound to ſorrow by the cords of a woman's peeviſhneſs: and the worſt of the evil is, they are to thank their own follies; for falling into the ſnare by entering an improper way: Chriſt and the Church were no ingredients in their choice: but as the Indian women enter into folly for the price of an Elephant, and think their crime

crime warrantable; ſo do men and women change their liberty for a rich fortune, and ſhew themſelves to be leſs than money, by overvaluing it to all the content and wiſe felicity of their lives: and when they have counted their money and their ſorrows together, how gladly would they buy with the loſs of all that money, modeſty or ſweet nature to their relative!—as very a fool is he that chuſes for beauty principally, whoſe eyes are witty, and his ſoul ſenſual: it is an ill band of affection to tie two hearts together by a little thread of red and white: and they can love no longer, but until the next ague comes; and they are fond of each other, but at the chance of fancy, or the ſmall pox, or child-bearing, or care, or time, or any thing that can deſtroy a pretty flower.

Man and wife are equally concerned to avoid all offences of each other in the beginning of their converſation: every little

thing can blaſt an infant bloſſom; and the breath of the ſouth can ſhake the little rings of the vine, when firſt they begin to curl, like the locks of a new weaned boy: but when by age and conſolidation, they ſtiffen into the hardneſs of a ſtem, and have by the warm embraces of the ſun and the kiſſes of heaven brought forth their cluſters, they can endure the ſtorms of the north, and the loud noiſes of a tempeſt, and yet never be broken:— ſo are the early unions of an unfixed marriage; watchful and obſervant, jealous and buſy, inquiſitive and careful, and apt to take alarm at every unkind word. For, infirmities do not manifeſt themſelves in the firſt ſcenes, but in the ſucceſſion of a long ſociety; and it is not chance or weakneſs when it appears at firſt, but it is want of love or prudence, or it will be ſo expounded: and that which appears ill at firſt uſually affrights the unexperienced man or woman, who makes unequal conjectures, and fancies mighty

ſorrow

ſorrows by the proportions of a new and early unkindneſs. It is a very great paſſion, or a huge folly, or a certain want of love, that cannot preſerve the colours and beauties of kindneſs, ſo long as public honeſty requires men to wear their ſorrows for the death of a friend. Plutarch compares a new marriage to a veſſel before the hoops are on; every thing diſſolves their tender compaginations: but when the joints are ſtiffened and are tied by a firm compliance and proportioned bending, ſcarcely can it be diſſolved, without fire, or the violence of Iron. After the hearts of the man and wife are endeared and hardened by a mutual confidence and experience, longer than artifice and pretence can laſt: there are a great many remembrances, and ſome things preſent, that daſh all little unkindneſſes in pieces. The little boy in the Greek Epigram, that was creeping down a precipice, was invited to ſafety by the ſight of his mother's pap, when nothing elſe could entice him to

return: ſo, the bond of common children, and the ſight of her that nurſes, what is moſt dear to him, and the endearments of each other, in the courſe of a long ſociety, and the ſame relation, is an excellent ſecurity to redintegrate and call that love back, which folly and trifling accidents would diſturb.

Let man and wife be careful to ſtifle little things, that as faſt as they ſpring, they may be cut down and trod upon: for if they be ſuffered to grow by numbers, they make the ſpirit peeviſh, and the ſociety troubleſome, and the affections looſe and eaſy by an habitual averſation. Some men are more vexed with a fly, than with a wound; and when the gnats diſturb our ſleep, and the reaſon is diſquieted, but not perfectly awakened, it is often ſeen, that they are fuller of trouble, than if in the day-light they were to contend with a potent enemy. In the frequent little accidents of a family, a man's reaſon cannot always be awake; and when his diſcourſes

are

are imperfect, and a trifling trouble makes him yet more reſtleſs, he is ſoon betrayed to the violence of paſſion. It is certain, that the man or woman are in a ſtate of weakneſs or folly then, when they can be troubled with a trifling accident; therefore it is not good to tempt their affections when they are in that ſtate of danger. In this caſe the beſt caution is, to ſubtract fuel from the ſudden flame; for ſtubble, though it be quickly kindled, yet it is ſoon extinguiſhed, if it be not blown by a pertinatious breath, or fed with new materials. Thus peace will ſoon return, and the diſcontent will paſs away, as ſparks from the colliſion of a flint. ever remembring, that diſcontents proceeding from daily little things, do breed a ſecret undiſcernable diſeaſe, which is more dangerous than a fever, proceeding from a diſcerned notorious ſurfeit.

Once more—Let the huſband and wife infinitely avoid a curious diſtinction of *mine* and

and *thine*; for this hath cauſed all the laws, and all the ſuits, and all the wars in the world; let them that have but one perſon, have alſo but one intereſt; when either begins to appropriate, it is like a tumour in the fleſh, drawing more than its ſhare, but what it feeds on, turns to a bile; and therefore the Romans forbad any donations to be made between man and wife, becauſe neither of them could transfer a new right of thoſe things, which already they had in common: for ſo all may be the woman's, and all the man's in ſeveral regards. Corvinus dwells in a farm, and receives all its profits, reaping and ſowing, as he pleaſes, and eats of the corn, and drinks of the wine, it is his own; but all that alſo is his lords, and for it Corvinus pays acknowledgment; in another view, it is the king's too, to ſupply the ſtate, and in times of danger. So are the riches of a family, they are a woman's as well as a man's: they are hers for need, and hers for ornament, and hers for modeſt

delight,

delight, and for the uſes of Religion and prudent charity. For, as the earth, the mother of all creatures here below, ſends up all its vapours and proper emiſſions at the command of the ſun, and yet requires them again to refreſh her own needs; and they are depoſited between them both, in the boſom of a cloud, as a common receptacle, that may cool his flames, and yet deſcend to make her fruitful, ſo are the properties of a wife to be diſpoſed of by her lord; and yet all are for her proviſions; it being a part of his need to refreſh and ſupply hers, and it ſerves the intereſt of both, while it ſerves the neceſſities of either.

Theſe are the Duties of them both, diſtinguiſhed only by names, and a variety of Circumſtances; and what in one is called *Love*, in the other is called *Reverence*; and what in the wife is *Obedience*, the ſame in man is *Duty*: he provides and ſhe diſpenſes: he gives commandments, and ſhe rules by them;

them; he rules her by Authority, and ſhe rules him by Love; ſhe ought by all means to pleaſe him, and he ought by no means to diſpleaſe her.—For as the Heart is ſet in the midſt of the Body, and though it ſtrikes to one ſide by the Prerogative of nature, yet thoſe Throbs and conſtant motions are felt on the other ſide alſo, and the Influence is equal to both; ſo it is in conjugal Duties; ſome motions are to the one Side, rather than the other, but the Intereſt is on both, and the Duty is equal in the ſeveral Inſtances: if it be otherwiſe the man enjoys a wife, as Periander did his departed Meliſa, by an unnatural union; neither pleaſing nor holy; but uſeleſs to all the purpoſes of ſociety, and dead to content.

We now come to enquire into the power and duty of the man, thus appointed, let every one of you ſo love his wife, even as himſelf: for ſhe that is bound to leave father, and mother, and brother, ought to find all

theſe

theſe in her huſband: it was rarely well obſerved by Philo, when Adam made that fond excuſe for his folly in eating the forbidden fruit, he ſaid, " The woman thou gaveſt to *be with me*"—he ſaid not, the woman thou gaveſt me—no ſuch thing— ſhe was given for a companion of his joys and ſorrows, for uſe but not for dominion: the dominion of a man over his wife is no other than as the ſoul rules the body; for which it takes a mighty care, and uſes it with delicate tenderneſs, and cares for it in all contingencies, and watches to keep it from all evils, and ſtudies to make for it fair proviſions, and very often is led by its inclinations and deſires, never contradicting its appetites, but when they are evil, and then with ſome trouble and ſorrow: and the government comes only to this, it furniſhes the body with light and underſtanding, and the body furniſhes the ſoul with hands and feet; the ſoul governs, becauſe the body cannot elſe be

be happy, but the *goverment* is no other than *proviſion*; as a nurſe governs a child, when ſhe cauſes it to eat, and to be warm, and dry, and quiet; they were a barbarous people, ſaid Spartianus in Conacalla, among whom wives were inſtead of ſervants; and it is a ſign of impotency and weakneſs, to force the camels to kneel for their load, becauſe thou haſt not ſpirit and ſtrength enough to climb: to make the affections and evenneſs of a wife bend by the flexures of a ſervant, is a ſign the man is not wiſe enough to govern, when another ſtands by.

It is obſervable, that no man ever proceeded to the rudeneſs of blows for a virtuous end; they are incompetent inſtruments of wrath and folly, but can never end in the unions of a prudent and fair ſociety: no, the material love is infinitely removed from all poſſibility of ſuch rudeneſſes; it is a thing pure as light, ſacred as a temple, laſting as the world: if a man be weary of the wiſe

diſcourſes

diſcourſes of an Apoſtle, or of the innocence of an even and private fortune, or hates peace, or a fruitful year, he hath reaped thorns and thiſtles from the choiceſt flowers of Paradiſe, for nothing can ſweeten felicity itſelf but love. But when a man dwells in love, then the breaſts of his wife are pleaſant as the droppings upon the hill of Hermon,—her eyes are fair as the light of Heaven,—ſhe is a fountain ſealed, and he can quench his thirſt, and eaſe his cares, and lay his ſorrow down upon her lap, and can retire home as to his ſanctuary and refectory, and to his gardens of ſweetneſs and chaſte refreſhments. No man can tell but he that loves his children, how many delicious accents make his heart dance in the pretty converſation of thoſe dear pledges; their childiſhneſs, their ſtammering, their little angers, their innocence, their imperfections, their neceſſities, are ſo many little emanations

of

of joy and comfort to him that delights in their perſon and ſociety: Baptiſta Fragoſa tells of a Neapolitan that gave himſelf to the Moors, that he might follow his wife, and Dominicus Cataluſius, the prince of Leſbos, kept company with his lady when ſhe was a Leper, and theſe are greater things than to die.

Theſe are the little lines of a man's duty, which like threads of light from the body of the ſun do clearly deſcribe all the regions of his proper obligations. Now concerning a woman's duty, obedience is the beſt inſtance of her love; for it proclaims her ſubmiſſion, her humility, her opinion of his wiſdom, his pre-eminence in the family, the right of his privilege, and the injunction which God impoſed upon her ſex: male and female created he them, and called their name Adam: they are but one, and therefore the ſeveral parts of this one man, muſt ſtand in the

place

place where God appointed, that the lower parts may do their offices in their own ſtation, and promote the common intereſt of the whole.

The laſt part of a woman's duty, is the hidden man of the heart, the ornament of a meek and quiet ſpirit, to which St. Peter oppoſes the outward and pompous ornament of the body: concerning which, as there can be no particular meaſure ſet down to all perſons, but the proportions are to be meaſured by the cuſtoms of wiſe people, the quality of the woman, and the deſires of the man; yet it is to be limited by Chriſtian modeſty and the uſages of the more excellent and ſevere nations. Menander in the comedy brings in a man turning his wife from his houſe, becauſe ſhe had ſtained her hair yellow, which was then the beauty. A wiſe woman ſhould not paint: a ſtudious gallantry in clothes cannot make a wiſe man love his wife the better; and diamonds

cannot make the woman virtuous, when charity and modeſty are her brighteſt ornaments.

When Circe had turned Ulyſſes's companions into hogs and monkies, by pleaſures and the enchantments of luxury, they were no longer uſeful to her, ſhe knew not what to do with them; but on wiſe Ulyſſes ſhe was continually enamoured: indeed the outward ornament is fit to take fools, but they are not worth the taking; but ſhe that hath a wiſe huſband, muſt entice him to an eternal dearneſs by the veil of modeſty and the grave robes of chaſtity, the ornament of meekneſs, and the jewels of faith and charity; ſhe muſt have no fucus but bluſhings, her brightneſs muſt be purity, and ſhe muſt ſhine round about with ſweetneſſes and friendſhip; ſo ſhe ſhall be pleaſant while ſhe lives, and deſired when ſhe dies.

Remember

Remember the days of darkneſs, for they ſhall be many: it is fit that I infuſe a bunch of myrrh into the feſtive goblet, and after the Egyptian manner, ſerve up a dead man's bones at a feaſt: I will only ſhew it, and take it away again: it will make the wine bitter, but wholeſome; and thoſe married pairs, that live as remembering that, they muſt part again, and give an account, how they have treated themſelves and each other, ſhall at the day of their death be admitted to glorious eſpouſals; be married to their Lord, and partake of his glories, with Abraham and Joſeph, St. Peter and St. Paul, and all the married ſaints: all thoſe things that pleaſe us now, ſhall paſs from us, or we from them, but thoſe things that concern the other life are permanent as the numbers of eternity· and though at the reſurrection,

there ſhall be no relation of huſband and wife, yet from this ſacramental union, all holy pairs ſhall paſs to the ſpiritual and eternal marriage of the Lamb, where love ſhall be their portion, and joys ſhall crown their heads, and they ſhall lie in the boſom of Jeſus, and in the heart of God, to eternal ages.

FUNERAL

A

FUNERAL SERMON,

PREACHED AT THE

OBSEQUIES

OF THE

RIGHT HONOUR. AND MOST VIRTUOUS LADY

THE LADY

FRANCES,

COUNTESS OF CARBERY.

WHO DECEASED OCTOBER 9, 1650.

AT HER HOUSE, GOLDEN-GROVE,

CARMARTHENSHIRE.

By JEREMY TAYLOR, D. D.

A FUNERAL SERMON.

2 SAM. Chap. XIV, ver. 14.

For we muſt needs die, and are as water ſpilt upon the ground, which cannot be gathered up again: neither doth God reſpect any perſon: yet doth he deviſe means, that his baniſhed be not expelled from him.

WHEN our Bleſſed Saviour, and his Diſciples were viewing the Temple, ſome one among them cried out: *Maſter! ſee what manner of ſtones, and what buildings are here*; to which he made no other reply, but foretold their diſſolution; that the ceremonies of ſervice, and the Temple erected for that ſervice, ſhould run to their period, and lie down in their ſeveral graves.

Whatever had a beginning, can alſo have an ending, and it ſhall die, unleſs it be watered with the Dew of Heaven, and the purles flowing from the fountain of living Waters, and the Wells of ſalvation. And therefore, God provided a Tree in Paridiſe, to have ſupported Adam in his *artificial Immortality:* for immortality was not in his nature, but in the management and favour, and ſuperadditions of Jehovah; ſo that in our firſt ſpringing from the duſt, we might have died, without the continual flux of a rare Providence; ſo now we are reduced by the Fall, from a favour of Grace to a fatality of Judgment, that *we muſt needs die.*

That is our ſentence, but that is not all: *we are as water ſpilt upon the ground, which cannot be gathered up again.* Always inconſiſtent and deſcending, and reſtleſs in every place: ſo do our great and little cares and trifles make us tempeſtuous, and trouble our faces: and thoſe creatures which have no weapons

pons of defence, are ſufficiently armed to vex thoſe parts of men, which are left obnoxious to a Sun-beam, to the roughneſs of a ſour grape, to the unevenneſs of a gravel-ſtone, to the duſt of a wheel, or the unwholeſome breath of a ſtar, looking awry upon a ſinner.

Infancy, with all its allowances of innocence, hath life, but in Effigy: or, like a ſpark dwelling in a pile of wood: it is ſo newly lighted, that every little ſhaking of the taper, and every ruder breath of air puts it out, and it dies. Childhood is ſo tender, and yet ſo unwary; ſo ſoft to all the impreſſions of chance, and yet ſo forward to run into them; that God knew, there could be no ſecurity, without the vigilance of an Angel-keeper: for the eyes of parents, and the arms of nurſes, and all the proviſions of art, and parental affection, are not ſufficient to keep a child from horrid miſchiefs, from ſtrange calamities, from early deaths. So that we may well be likened to water; our nature is

no

no ſtronger, our abode no more certain: if the ſluices be opened, it *falls away, and runnth apace*; if its current be ſtopped, it ſwells and grows troubleſome, and ſpills over with a greater diffuſion: if it be made to ſtand ſtill, it putrifies: and all this we do.

For in all the proceſs of our health we are running to our grave: we open our own ſluices by vicioufneſs and unworthy actions; we pour in drink, and let out life; we encreaſe diſeaſes, and know not how to bear them; we ſtrangle ourſelves with our own intemperance; we bury our underſtandings in loads of ſurfeits, and then roar with diſquitude of ſoul; we bring a new mortality upon ourſelves by public wars and private duels, by every thing that is unreaſonable, and every thing that is violent; and nothing is to be ſeen but a grave digged, and a ſolemn mourning, and a great talk in the neighbourhood; and all this is like water, it cannot be gathered up again.

I mean

I mean only, as to any miracle, before the Reſurrection: Lazarus, and Tabitha, and the widow of Nain's ſon, and thoſe ſouls that appeared at the Reſurrection, were the ſouls of Saints, holy and innocent, within the comprehenſion of Eternal mercy: for we never read, that a wicked Perſon felt ſuch a miracle, or was raiſed from the Grave, to try a ſecond time for a crown. And the Saints ſurviving ſhould remember, that until their departed friends are gathered up in the Great Harveſt of the world, their memories and examples are piouſly to be retained in mind, as Paul prayed for Oneſiphorus, that God would ſhew him mercy in that day, that fearful and much to be deſired day, when the moſt righteous perſon ſhall have need of much mercy, and ſhall find it: for though to us, they are as water ſpilt; yet to God they are as water fallen in the ſea, ſafe and united in his Comprehenſion and Incloſures.

We

We are now come to the very affecting conſideration, that *God doth not reſpect any perſon:* in this proceſs to diſſolution of body and ſpirit; if beauty or wit, or youth, or nobleneſs, or wealth, or virtue, could have been a defence, and an excuſe from the grave, we had not met here to day to mourn over the hearſe of an excellent Lady: but there is one beam of comfort in this myſtery of death, that though our dead are like perſons baniſhed from this world, yet they are not expelled from God: they reſt from their labours, and tears are wiped away from their eyes: for in the ſtate of ſeparation, before the ſoul be re-inveſted with her new houſe, the ſpirits of all perſons are with God, ſo ſecured, and ſo bleſſed, and ſo ſealed up for glory, that this ſtate of interval and imperfection is, in reſpect of its certain event and end, infinitely more deſirable than all the pleaſures, and vanities, and kingdoms of the world.

Certain

Certain it is, that an imperfect body, a diſeaſed brain, or a violent paſſion, diſcompoſes the ſoul from its own freedom, that it is not as it ſhall be, as it ought to be, as it was intended to be in its pureſt operation; ſo that ſuppoſing it has any actions of life, in a ſtate of ſeparation, they muſt and will be more noble and expedite.

That the ſoul is alive after death, St. Paul affirms, *Chriſt died for us, that whether we wake or ſleep, we ſhould live together with him:* and as nutrition, generation, eating and drinking, are actions proper to the body, and its ſtate; ſo ecſtaſies, viſions, raptures, intuitive knowledge, ſelf conſideration, acts of volition, and reflex acts of underſtanding are proper to the ſoul; and therefore when St. Paul knew not, whether his viſions were in the body, or out of the body, it is clear, from his judgment, that the one was as likely as the other; that

the

the ſoul is as capable of action, alone, as in conjunction.

If in the ſtate of bleſſedneſs there are ſome actions of the ſoul, which do not paſs through the body, ſuch as contemplation of God, and converſing with ſpirits, and receiving thoſe influences and rare immiſſions, which, coming from the myſterious and Holy Trinity, make up the Crown of Glory; it follows, that the neceſſity of the body's miniſtry is only during this ſtate of life; as long as it converſes with fire and water, and lives on corn and fleſh, and is fed by the ſatisfaction of material appetites; which manner of converſation ceaſing, it can be no longer neceſſary for the ſoul to be ſerved by phantoms.

And therefore when the body ſhall be re-united, it ſhall be ſo ordered, that then the body ſhall confeſs, it gives not any thing, but receives its manner and abode from the ſoul; and that then it comes, not to ſerve a neceſſity,

a neceſſity, but to partake a Glory. For as the operations of the ſoul here begin in the body, and by it the object is tranſmitted to the ſoul; ſo then they ſhall begin in the ſoul, and paſs to the body by a prime and pre-eminent operation: and as the ſoul of Chriſt in his three days of ſeperation, did exerciſe acts of life, of joy and triumph; ſo it is highly probable, that each ſoul of the bleſſed, works clearer, and underſtands brighter, and diſcourſes wiſer, and rejoices louder, and loves nobler, and deſires purer, and hopes ſtronger than it can do here.

I have now done with my text, and am telling you a plain narrative of a life, which by imitation, will make our departure deſirable. When Mary and Martha went to weep over their brother's grave, Chriſt met them there, diſcourſing of the Reſurrection and Faith in his Power. We have no other, we can have no better precedent to follow; and now,

now, that we are coming to weep over the grave of our dear ſiſter, this rare perſonage, we have many virtues to learn, many to imitate, and ſome to exerciſe.

She did not love her fortune, for making her noble, but eſtabliſhed her Honour by communicating comfort, and doing excellent things: as thoſe creatures are moſt honourable, which have the greateſt power, and do the greateſt good.

She had a ſtrict and ſevere education, in that part of the kingdom, where greatneſs is too often expreſſed in great follies and great vices; and God who, intended to ſecure this ſoul to himſelf, would not ſuffer her to taſte of temptation by wiſhes of ſight, and too near approaches to vanity.

She was married young; and beſides her buſineſſes of religion, ſeemed to be ordained, in the Providence of God, to bring this honourable Family part of a fair fortune, and to

leave

leave behind her a fairer iſſue, worth ten thouſand times her portion: and as if this had been the buſineſs of her life, when ſhe had ſo far ſerved God's end, he in mercy would ſerve hers, and take her to an early bleſſedneſs.

She had ſo great a love for her lord, ſo entirely given up to a dear affection, that ſhe thought the ſame things, and loved the ſame loves, and hated according to the ſame enmities, and breathed in his ſoul, and lived, in his preſence, and languiſhed in his abſence. He only was, (under God) the light of her eyes, and the cordial of her ſpirits, which was a great enamel to the beauty of her ſoul, and I chuſe to expreſs this rare combination in the words of Solomon, *ſhe forſook not the guide of her youth, nor brake the covenant of her God.*

As ſhe was a rare wife, ſo ſhe was an excellent mother: for in ſo tender a conſtitution

of ſpirit as hers was, there hath ſeldom been ſeen a ſtricter and more curious care of their perſons, their deportment, their diſpoſition, and their learning. I have ſeen a female religion, that wholly dwelt upon the face and tongue; that like a wanton, uncultivated tree, ſpent all its juice in ſuckers and branches irregular; in leaves, and gum; and after all theſe goodly outſides, you ſhall never eat an apple, nor be delighted with the beauties, nor the perfumes of an hopeful bloſſom. But the devotion of this Lady was fruitful to her family and friends, in ſweetneſs of ſociety,—*not boaſting of her cloathing and raiment, nor exalting herſelf in the Day of Honour.*

She had ſtrange fears and early cares upon her, that nothing might be done in her honourable family, to entail malediction on her innocent poſterity. And though her accounts to God were made up of nothing but ſmall parcels, little paſſions, and angry words, and trifling

tiifling diſcontents, which are the allays of the piety of the moſt holy perſons; yet ſhe was early at her repentance, as if ſhe had a revelation of her approaching end: her prayers more frequent, her charity encreaſing, her friendſhips and forgiveneſſes more communicative, her paſſions more under diſcipline; and ſo ſhe trimmed her lamp, to ſhine in the day-time, before the altar of incenſe.

I know not by what inſtrument it happened, but when death drew near, before it made any ſhew upon her body, or revealed itſelf by a natural ſignification, it was conveyed to her ſpirit: ſhe had a ſtrange perſuaſion, that the bringing this child ſhould be her laſt ſcene of life; and we have known, that the ſoul, when ſhe is about to diſrobe herſelf of her upper-garment, ſometimes ſpeaks rarely; ſometimes is prophetical; ſometimes God by

a ſuperinduced perſuaſion ſerves his providence and the ſalvation of a ſoul: but ſo it was, that the thought of death dwelt long with her, and grew from the firſt ſtep of fancy and fear, to a conſent: from thence to a ſtrange expectation: and without the violence of ſickneſs, ſhe died, as if ſhe had done it by deſign, or too fearful apprehenſion; or rather ſhe died, as if ſhe had been glad of the opportunity.

In this her tender, delicate, and fine conſtitution, ſhe was fitted with a death ſo eaſy, ſo unafflictive, that it did not put her patience to a ſevere trial; ſo clearly did God remonſtrate to all that ſtood in that ſad attendance, that this ſoul was dear to him, as the ſignet on his right hand: that as ſhe had done ſo much of her duty, he would finiſh her redemption by a ſingular mercy.

She

She had in her ſickneſs, (if I may ſo call it, or rather in the ſolemnities and graver preparations to death) ſome curious and well-becoming fears concerning the final ſtate of her ſoul: but from thence ſhe paſſed into a deliquium, or a kind of trance, and as ſoon as ſhe came forth of it, as if it had been a viſion, or converſe with an Angel, and from his hand had received a ſcrole from the Book of Life, and there had ſeen her name enrolled, ſhe cried aloud, *(Glory be to God on high: now I am ſure I ſhall be ſaved.)*

As there are ſtrange things in the other world, ſo the unuſual glimpſes of beatitude to the faithful, are infinitely far from illuſions; and I pray God, I may feel thoſe mercies on my death-bed, that ſhe felt, at leaſt the ſame effects of my repentance, as ſhe now feels of her innocence: ſuch was her death, that ſhe did not die too ſoon; and her life

was ſo uſeful and excellent, that ſhe could not have lived too long : death conſecrates that perſon, whoſe excellency was ſuch, that they, who are not diſpleaſed at the death, cannot diſpraiſe the life ; but they that mourn ſadly, think they can never ſufficiently commend. *Amen.*

A MORAL

A

MORAL DEMONSTRATION,

PROVING FROM MANY PROBABILITIES,

THAT THE

RELIGION OF JESUS CHRIST

IS FROM GOD.

JOHN, Chap. XVIII. ver. 38.

Pilate ſaith unto him, what is Truth!

AS many have written in part on the Truth of Chriſt, which ſtands by the grandeur of a long and united authority, it may cauſe infinite perſuaſion in pious minds, to ſee the teſtimonies collected all together; for a man may as proſperiouſly and certainly arrive at his journey's end, though conducted by one that went the way but once before him, as if he had a ſtraight path walled in on both ſides.

And here I aſk nothing to be granted but the very ſubject of the queſtion, that both in pretenſion and in doctrine there was ſuch a perſon, as Jeſus Chriſt.

For what the hiſtories of that age reported as one of the moſt eminent tranſactions of the world; which by the noiſe of fame, and the changes of war, by diviſion of families, and prodigies of Heaven, was the care and queſtion of ſurrounding nations, ſurely never had any ſtory ſuch points of credibility: for what was leſs proved, is infinitely believed of Mahomet, that he led multitudes after him upon Earth.—Allow the Son of God but a ſimilar appearance, and then we enquire into the Truth of his Miſſion; for that he was in the world, and did make pretences, needs no more probation.

And firſt, the Eternal Spirit in Scripture had given a ſimilitude of Emmanuel, by the Prophets, that all might ſay at his coming, this is He, that ſhould come. For beſides the

the ſound of the Prophets ſounding the alarm, there was a ſtrange Star, apparent in the Heavens, above the influence of Pleiades, above the Bands of Orion:—A Star, at which Jeruſalem was troubled,—at which Herod in agony, trembled for his throne,—whoſe very ſplendour drove him to bloodſhed: when Rachel in Ramah wept in diſtraction for her children. This Son, above all human generation, at whoſe preſence in the womb, the Baptiſt in his womb leaped for joy, was proclaimed to Mary and Joſeph by two Angels,--to the Shepherds by many Angels,—to the Perſians by a Prophecy and a Star,—to the Jews, by the Shepherds,—to the Gentiles by the Wiſe Men,—to Herod by the Scribes—this Divinity ſubmitted to an humble manſion, unambitious of human glory.

We now proceed to the Baptiſt crying in the Wilderneſs, in Spirit and Purity of living anointed for his Lord.—He was conceived in barren old age, after the uſaul time of conception,—

conception,—was ſignified to his father by an Angel, who ſtruck him dumb, for his unbelief:—this man, ſo great, ſo revered, ſo liſtened to by king and people, by doctors and ideots, by Phariſees and Sadducees,—this man pointed out Jeſus, and gave place to the Lamb of God. As God thundered at the giving of the Law, he gave the Mediator an awful and ſufficient approbation by a voice, known and accepted, as a pure way of God to man at that period—of eaſy transfuſion, through one ear and one tongue, to the hearts of all ſucceeding believers.

Or, there would be no government of God upon Earth, unleſs himſelf came perpetually down, becauſe no meſſenger could ſhew a paſſing ſound or action to the eye, what he related only to the ears of another; but might prevail as ſafely with hearers, as if they believed their own eyes and ears. But voices are only parts of his ways, compared with the thunder of his power in miracles

miracles over all diſeaſes, infirmities, and death :—of death, in every degree of horror, from the firſt point in the nobleman's ſon, then in the damſel dead two hours,—then in the widow's ſon carried to the burial,—then in Lazarus dead ſeven days, and four days laid in the tomb.

Whoever can think, a mere man could do this, knows nothing of human weakneſs, nor the power of an Angel; but whoever thinks it was done by compact with the Devil, muſt think him to be an intelligence without underſtanding, as fooliſh as he was wicked, to aid the Redeemer to his own ruin.

After he had lived in every comportment as an Angel of Light, till the hour of his death, they who had the biggeſt malice and the weakeſt accuſation, could neither prevail with Pilate to condemn or to find fault with him; but he ſtood innocent and ſilent, without labour or reply, and needed no more an argument than the Sun needs an advocate,

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to prove him the brighteſt Star in the Firmament.

In addition to theſe wonders was the darkneſs of the Sun at his Crucifixion, when the Moon was at full; a darkneſs ariſing from no cloud; or ſhadow of a cloud; but becauſe the God of Nature ſuffered, as a Heathen ſpoke at that very time, who knew nothing of the ſad iniquity. The rending of the rocks, of the veil of the temple, and the bodies of Saints going out of their graves into the city, made the Centurion ſay of him that was pierced, "verily this man was the Son of God."

In concluſion of this point therefore, immediately reſpecting the perſon and pretenſions of Chriſt, we ſay with the higheſt, and ſtill with the holieſt preſumption, that no matter of fact can be proved better, than by ſight, and ſound, and love, and life, and blood.—But as God hates lying, he hates thoſe, who ſhut their eyes and ears againſt the

the Truth—and to refuſe belief of heavenly things, by as fair arguments, as we believe earthly things, is an obſtinacy, as contrary to human reaſon, as it is to Divine Faith.

Theſe things relate to the perſon of the Holy Jeſus, and prove ſufficiently, that it was *extraordinary*, that it was *divine*, that *God was with him*, that his power wrought in him; and therefore that it was his will which Jeſus taught, and God ſigned: But then, if nothing of all this had been done, yet even the doctriue itſelf proves itſelf, and to come from God.

For it is a doctrine perfective of human nature, that teaches us to love God, and to love one another; to hurt no man, and to do good to every man; it propines to us the nobleſt, the higheſt, and the braveſt pleaſures of the world: the joys of charity, the reſt of innocence, the peace of quiet ſpirits, and the wealth of beneficence: it forbids us only to be Beaſts and Devils, in riot,

riot, in malice, in murder and revenge. It permits corporal pleaſures, where they can beſt miniſter to health and ſocieties, to converſation of families, and the honour of communities. It commands obedience to ſuperiors, that we may not be ruined in confuſions; it combines governments in laws of peace, and oppoſes wars, where they are not juſt, or not neceſſary.

It is a religion, that is Life and Spirit: not conſiſting in ceremonies and external amuſements, but in ſervices of the heart, in the real fruit of lips and hands, to our neighbour's neceſſities and our own deſigns and devotions. It does not deſtroy reaſon, but inſtructs it in very many things, and complies with it in all, and by its light and heat is as effectual as it is beauteous. It promiſes every thing that we ought to deſire, and yet promiſes nothing but what it doth effect: it teaches us with eaſe to mortify theſe affections, which reaſon durſt ſcarce reprove,

reprove, becauſe ſhe hath not ſtrength enough to conquer ; and it creates in us thoſe virtues, which reaſon of herſelf never knew, and after they are known, could never ſufficiently approve. It is a doctrine, in which nothing is ſuperfluous or burdenſome, nor yet is there any thing wanting, which can procure happineſs to mankind, or by which God may be glorified : and if wiſdom, and mercy, and juſtice, and ſimplicity and holineſs, and purity, and meekneſs, and contentedneſs, and charity, be images of God, and rays of Divinity, then that doctrine, wherein all theſe ſhine ſo gloriouſly, and in which nothing elſe is ingredient, muſt needs be from God ; and that all this is true in the Doctrine of Jeſus, needs no other probation but the reading of the words.

For that the words of Jeſus are contained in the Goſpels, that is, in the writings of them who were eye-witneſſes and ear-witneſſes of his deeds and diſcourſes, is not at all

all to be doubted; for it is madneſs to ſuppoſe, the Chriſtians would make a law, which their Maſter whom they worſhip never made: the authority of theſe books is in all points of compariſon ſurely as true, as the authority of the Coran, or the Old Teſtament: they have been received for 1700 years by all Chriſtian aſſemblies, with ſufficient preſumption, ſecurity and poſſeſſion: they have been conſented to by a long immemorial acceptation and confeſſions of all communions. The writers were to be believed, becauſe they performed miracles; they wrote prophecies, which are verified by the event; perſons were cured at their ſepulchres, a thing ſo famous, that it was confeſſed even by the enemies of the religion: and after all, that which the world ought to rely upon, is the wiſdom and the provident goodneſs of God; all which it concerned, that the religion, which he himſelf ſo adorned and proved by miracles and ſigns, ſhould not be loſt, nor

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any falſe writings be obtruded inſtead of true, leſt without our fault, the will of God be impoſſible to be obeyed.

But to return to the thing, all thoſe excellent things, which ſingly did make famous ſo many ſects of philoſophers, and remarked ſo many Princes of their ſects; all them united, and many more, which their eyes dark and dim could not ſee, are heaped together in this ſyſtem of wiſdom and holineſs. Here are plain precepts full of deepeſt myſtery: here are the meaſures of holineſs and approaches to God deſcribed: here are obedience and conformity, mortification of the body, and elevations of the ſpirit: here are abſtractions from Earth, and acts of ſociety and union with Heaven, and degrees of excellencies, and tendencies to perfection, imitations of God, and converſations with him:—Theſe are the heights and deſcents, upon the plain grounds of natural reaſon and natural religion: for here is nothing taught

and commanded, but what our reaſon by nature ought to chuſe; and yet nothing of natural reaſon taught, but what is more perfect by the Spirit of God:—and when there is any thing in the religion that is againſt fleſh and blood, it is only when fleſh and blood is againſt us, and againſt reaſon; when fleſh and blood would hinder us from great felicity, or bring us into great miſery: in fine, it is ſuch a law, that nothing can hinder men to receive and entertain it, but a pertinacious baſeneſs and love to vice, and none can receive it, but thoſe who reſolve to be good and excellent; and if the Holy Jeſus had come into the world with leſs ſplendour of power and mighty demonſtrations, yet even the excellency of what he taught, alone makes him fit to be Maſter of the world.

Here let us conſider by what inſtruments he wrought theſe mighty changes, and ſurmounted that human impoſſibility of perſuading

ſuading men to take pleaſure in affliction. He put an end to the Moſaic law, and the Levitical ſervice: he effected this change of practice and principle and ineffectual ablutions, and deceitful oracles, by the doctrine of a Trinity in the Godhead—of a re-union of ſoul and body—at a diſtant, dreadful, ſecret period, on the preparation of temperance, humility, reſtitution, forgiveneſs and love.

Here, here it is, that the Divinity of the power is proclaimed. When any one means to effect any thing by oppoſition to long eſtabliſhments, eccleſiaſtical or temporal, he muſt have means, of his own proportionable, or in failure of ſuch, muſt derive them from the Mighty. See then, with what inſtruments the Holy Jeſus ſet upon this great reformation of the world.—Twelve men of obſcure birth, trades, and quality, without learning, without accompliſhments any ways adapted in themſelves for ſufficiency: theſe

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men were ſent into the midſt of a knowing and wiſe world, to diſpute with the moſt famous philoſophers of Greece: to outwit all the ſubtility of Athens: to outpreach all the orators of Rome: to introduce in their ſeveral empires, exceſſively impatient of novelties, ſuch a change, as muſt be totally deſtructive to their temples and their gods: by a religion apparently deſpicable, not apt to do harm, but expoſing its profeſſors to harm univerſally: by a religion contradictory to the military, political, and judicial ſtates of their reſpective kingdoms, by new precepts of peace, and new modes of judgment:— That ſuch a religion, preached by ſuch mean perſons, ſhould triumph over the philoſophy and arguments of the ſubtle, and the ſermons of the eloquent, and the power of princes, and the intereſt of ſtates, and the inclinations of nature, and the blindneſs of zeal, and the force of cuſtom, and the pleaſures of ſin, and the arts of the Devil; that is, that it ſhould triumph againſt wit and power, and money,

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and malice, and fame and empire; all which are things, which contribute to make piety, not only unſucceſsful, but naturally impoſſible:—this I ſay, could not be by the proper force of human inſtruments; for no man can ſpan Heaven with an infant's palm, or govern empires with a diagram.

As it were impudent undoubtedly, to ſend a footman to command Cæſar to lay down his arms, to diſband his legions, and throw himſelf into Tyber, or keep a tavern next to Pompey's theatre; ſo if a ſober man ſhould ſtand alone, unarmed, undefended, or unprovided, and ſhall ſay, that he will make the Sun ſtand ſtill, or remove a mountain, or reduce Xerxes his army to the ſcantling of a ſingle troop: he that believes he can do this, muſt believe he does it by an higher power than he can yet perceive, and ſo it was in the preſent tranſaction: it flouriſhed like a palm by preſſure, it grew glorious by oppoſition, and was demonſtrated

even by objections. The ſilence of Dæmons was confeſſed by Lucian, Porphyry and Celſus, enemies to the Faith; and ſurely the Diſciples of John the Baptiſt, the Nazarenes, and Ebionites, Nicodemus and Joſeph of Arimathæa, Sergius the Preſident, Dionyſius an Athenian Judge, and Polycarpus, Juſtinus, and Irenæus, Athenagoras and Origen, Tertullian, and Clemens of Alexandria, could not be ſuch fools, as upon a matter not certainly true, but probably falſe, to unravel their former principles, and to change their liberty for a priſon, wealth for poverty, honour for diſreputation, and life for death, if by ſuch exchange they had not been ſecured by truth, and holineſs, and the will of God.

But above all theſe was Saul, a bold and a witty, a zealous and learned young man; who going with letters to perſecute the Chriſtians at Damaſcus, was by a light from Heaven called from his furious march, reproved

proved by a voice for his perſecuting ſpirit: was ſent for baptiſm and inſtruction to Ananias in the city, who trembled at firſt to give him admiſſion, then recovered, then ordained, then ſent him abroad as ambaſſor of Chriſt, where he became a prodigy of the world, in all utterance and in all knowledge: in preaching and writing: in labour and ſufferance; in government and wiſdom:— He was admitted to a ſight of our Lord after his Aſcenſion: he was taken up into the Third Heaven: he converſed with Angels: he ſaw unſpeakable things of Paradiſe: for declaring all theſe unparalled revelations to kings and princes, and envious Jews, he could get nothing but trouble here, and nothing hereafter, if it was falſe: yet he urged the notoriouſneſs of the fact, not feigned, or private, but done at noon day, under the teſt of competent perſons; and it was a thing that proved itſelf, for it was effective of a *preſent*, a *great*, and a *permanent* change.

Now, it was no new wonder, but in purſuance of the ſame union of great and divine things, that the fame and faith of the Goſpel was ſpread with ſo rapid a diffuſion over the habitable Earth: it filled all Aſia immediately: it paſſed preſently into Europe, and the fartheſt Africans: and all the way it went it told nothing but this holy and humble ſtory, that the Meſſiah, the Mediator their Maſter, who was lately crucified on Calvary, was riſen from the dead, and aſcended into Heaven, *above all, God bleſſed for ever.* In conſequence, infinite numbers of all ſexes, ages and regions, came into the Crucifix: and he that was crucified in the reign of Tiberius, was in time of Nero, even in Rome itſelf, and even in Nero's family, by many perſons eſteemed as a God; the Croſs was worn upon breaſts; painted in the air; drawn upon fore-heads; carried on banners; put upon crowns Imperial; and yet the Chriſtians were ſought for to puniſhments, and exquiſite

quiſite puniſhments ſought forth for them: their goods were confiſcated; their names odious; priſons were their houſes, and ſuch tortures invented for them, that Ulpianus has ſpent ſeven books in deſcribing their aggravated variety.

Can we therefore ſuppoſe all the world, or ſo great a part of mankind could conſent by chance, or ſuffer ſuch changes for nothing! can we ſuppoſe Martyrs, to weary the power of executioners, and Devils to acknowledge the name, and kings and queens, to kiſs the feet of thoſe, who brought the glad tidings, unleſs they were actuated by a Spirit bigger than the Roman Legion? Let this be added to prove the Divinity of Chriſt.

Again,—He foretold, that His Faith, in ſpite of all objections and interruptions, ſhould grow: if in peace, it ſhould proſper; if in perſecution, it ſtill ſhould proſper; if princes favoured it, the world would come in, be-

cauſe

cauſe the Chriſtians lived holily; if princes were incenſed, Martyrs came in, becauſe the Chriſtians died bravely; he foretold the Miſſion of the Holy Ghoſt, after his Aſcenſion, which in ten days after came to paſs; he propheſied that the act of Mary Magdalene, anointing his head and feet, ſhould ſpread and ſurvive with the ſpreading of the Goſpel; he foretold, the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, by the Roman arms, by eagles, the general ſymbols of their military powers; he foretold, that his beloved Diſciple, St. John, ſhould live, till his coming to Judgment on Jeruſalem; thus his Faith muſt continue, becauſe it came with ſuch mighty power and demonſtration from God; and therefore it came from God, becauſe, according to the Prophecy of Chriſt, it does, and ſhall for ever continue, till the reſtitution of all things.

After his Aſcenſion, the Spirit of prophecy fell upon Agabus, who foretold a dearth to be

be in the Roman empire, in the days of Claudius Cæſar; it fell alſo upon St. Paul, who foretold his own binding at Jeruſalem, and he with Peter and Jude foretold the hereſies that would prevail in Aſia after their deceaſe; and the deſtruction of the Jewiſh kingdom; accordingly the ſad catalyſis came ſoon after, and ſwept away one million and one hundred thouſand: and from that day forward, they have been broken into pieces and bubbles, like oil in a veſſel, kept in their own circles; without prieſt or temple, without altar or ſacrifice, without city or country, without the Land of Promiſe, or the promiſe of a bleſſing, till Jeſus is their High-Prieſt, and Shepherd of their Fold. The Law is become impoſſible to the remnant of the ſcattered Jews, becauſe being *corporal*, *ritual*, and *local*, it is in all theſe circumſtances of practice vaniſhed away.

So that all the predictions appertaining purely to the Meſſiah, are moſt undeniably accompliſhed

accompliſhed in his Perſon and Miniſtry, and though the Jews entertain prodigious dreams of a Meſſiah yet future, by which they have fooled themſelves 1700 years together; yet they hope without reaſon, and are confident without revelation, and purſue a ſhadow, while they quit the Glorious Body: while in the mean time, the Chriſtian prays for their converſion: as ſeeing him that is inviſible, as ſeeing the Firſt-Born from the dead, with moſt perſpicacious and purely ſpiritual eyes, as Eliſha ſaw horſes and armies of Angels, which to his unfavoured ſervant were undiſcernable: a believer is at reſt in the truth, bleſſed, apparent, and evangelical: he has ineffable confidencies from inward lights; he has ſuch amiable clarities produced in his ſoul, that he will die, when he cannot diſpute, and is ſatisfied, he knows not how, and is ſure by comforts, and comforted by the excellency of his belief, which ſpeaks nothing but holineſs, and light, and reaſon,

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and peace, and ſatisfactions infinite: becauſe he is ſure, that all the world can be happy, if they would live by this Faith, and that neither ſocieties of men, nor ſingle perſons can have felicity, but by this; and therefore God, who ſo decrees to make them happy, hath alſo decreed, that it ſhall be upon the Earth, till the Earth ſhall be no more. *Amen.*

Now if againſt this vaſt heap of things, any one ſhall confront the pretences of any other religion, and ſee how they fail both of reaſon and holineſs, of wonder and Divinity; how they enter by force and are kept up by human intereſts; how ignorant and unholy, how unlearned and pitiful are their pretences; the darkneſſes of theſe muſt add great eminency to the brightneſs of that. The Jewiſh diſpenſation, though appointed by Heaven, was appointed only for a time, to give place to the Chriſtian diſpenſation: it has no Urim or Thummin, no Prophet

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or viſion, nor any communication, but in the way of an ordinary Providence; whereas the Chriſtian Faith is as eternal as the ſoul of a man, and can no more ceaſe than our ſpirits can die: we can worſhip upon mountains and in caves; in fields and in churches; in peace and war; in ſolitude and ſociety; in perſecution and ſunſhine; by night and by day; this Faith, ſays to the ſoul, as the lightnings do in Job, to the Creator, "*Here we are:*" it can be ſolemnized by Clergy and Laity, in the eſſential parts of, and is the perfection of the ſoul, and the higheſt reaſon of man, and the Glorification of God.

As for the Heathen religions, it is evident, that they are an abuſe of the natural inclination which ought to prevail in Divine Worſhip. They affirmed their deities to be paſſionate and proud, jealous and revengeful, amorous and luſtful, fearful and impatient, weary

weary and wounded; ſupported by the fraud of Oracles, and arguments of pleaſure, and correſpondencies of ſenſuality. Into ſuch impurities Chriſtianity never could have entered, but by entering like rain into a fleece of wool, or the Sun into a window, without noiſe and violence, to any political conſtitution: it defended itſelf by making the perſon of princes ſacred, and was the great inſtrument of God to perpetuate his mercies to mankind.

Laſtly, he that conſiders the perſon and pretenſions of Mahomet, vicious and tyrannical; that he propounded incredible and ridiculus propoſitions to his followers; by ſlaughter, by murder and robbery; that its rewards are allurements to our baſeſt appetites; that it is fooliſh againſt the reaſon of all wiſdom; that it did no miracles, and made falſe prophecies; no man of reaſon can be fairly perſuaded by any arguments, that ſuch a religion

a religion ever was the daughter of God, and came down from Heaven. Since therefore there is nothing to be ſaid for any other religion, and ſo very much for Chriſtianity, it follows, that there is no other Name under Heaven by which we can be ſaved, *but only in the Name of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt.*

He that puts his ſoul upon this cannot periſh; nor can he be reproved, who had ſo much reaſon and argument for his Faith, and therefore I pray God, that my ſoul may be amongſt Chriſtians: for this is reaſon, this is revelation, and cannot be contradicted by any thing ſurer than itſelf.

OF THE
SCRUPULOUS CONSCIENCE.

A Scruple is a great Trouble of Mind, proceeding from a little Motive, and a great Indiſpoſition; by which the Conſcience, though ſufficiently determined by proper arguments, dares not proceed to action, or if it does ſo, it cannot reſt.

IT is a true and profitable obſervation of Solomon, that too violent blowing and wringing of the noſe bringeth forth blood: that is, an enquiry after determination, a ſearching into little corners, and meaſuring actions by atoms, is not the way to *govern*, but to *diſorder* our conſcience.

That it is a great trouble, is a daily experiment and a ſad ſight:—ſome perſons dare not eat for fear of gluttony; they fear that

they ſhall ſleep too much; and that keeps them waking, and troubles them more, and ſo their ſcruples encreaſe. If they be ſingle perſons, they fear that every deſire is a *burning*, and therefore it is better to marry: in their proceſs to matrimony, they dare not, for fear of neglecting the glory of God: when they are married, they are afraid of indulgence, afraid of carnality, afraid of omiſſion, afraid of the very fearing, that they adhere to *nature*, more than the *ſpirit*. They repent, when they have not ſinned, and accuſe themſelves without form or matter: their virtues make them tremble, and in their innocence they are afraid: they at no hand would ſin, and know not on which hand to avoid it: and if they venture in, as the flying Perſians over the river Strymon, the ice will not bear them, or they cannot ſtand for ſlipping, and think every ſtep a danger, and every progreſſion a crime, and believe

believe themſelves drowned, when they are yet on ſhore.

Seneca calls a ſcruple, *a fear of doing every thing that is innocent, and an aptneſs to do every thing that can be ſuggeſted:* a ſcruple is a little ſtone in the foot, if you ſet it on the ground, it hurts you; if you hold it up, you cannot go forward: it is a trouble where the trouble is over, a doubt where doubts are reſolved; it is a little party behind a hedge, when the main army is broken, and the field is cleared: thus, when the conſcience is inſtructed in its way, and girt for action, ſoon a light trifling reaſon, or an abſurd fear hinders it from beginning the journey, or proceeding on the way, or reſting at the journey's end.

Very often it hath no reaſon at all for its inducement, but proceeds from indiſpoſition of body, from puſillanimity, from a melancholy, troubled head, from ſleepleſs nights, from the ſociety of the timorous, from

ſolitarineſs, from ignorant, unſeaſoned, imprudent notices of things, from indigeſted reading, or a ſtrong fancy, or a weak judgment, abuſing reaſon into irreſolution and reſtleſſneſs. It is indeed, a direct walking in the dark, where we ſee nothing to affright us, but fancy many things, and thoſe phantaſms deeply diſturb us, being produced in the lower regions of fancy, and nurſed by folly, and born upon the arms of fear.

But, if reaſon be its parent, then it is born in the twilight, and the mother is ſo little, that the daughter is a fly, with a ſhort head, and a long ſting, even to trouble a wiſe man, but not enough to ſatisfy the appetite of a little bird: the reaſon of a ſcruple is ever as obſcure as the light of a glow-worm, not fit to govern any action, and yet is ſuffered to ſtand in the midſt of all its enemies, and like the flies of Ægypt, vex and trouble the whole army.

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This diſeaſe is moſt frequent in women and monaſtic perſons, in the ſickly and timorous, and is often procured by exceſs in religious exerciſes, by auſterities and diſciplines, by indiſcret faſtings, and long nights in prayer; by a multitude of human laws, by a variety of opinions, by impertinent talking of thoſe, who are buſily idle: thus by the weakneſſes of the body and underſtanding, enervating the ſtrength of the ſpirit, the enemy of mankind makes religion ſtrike itſelf upon the face, by the palſies and tremblings of its own fingers.

William of Oſeney was a devout man, and read two or three books of devotion very often; and being pleaſed with the entertainment of his time, reſolved to ſpend ſo many hours every day in reading them, as he had read over thoſe books ſeveral times; that is, three hours every day. In a ſhort time, he had read over the books *three times more*; and began to think, that his

reſolution might be expounded to ſignify in a current ſenſe, and that it was to be extended to the future times of his reading; and that now he was to ſpend *ſix hours*, every day, in reading thoſe books, becauſe he had now read them over *ſix times*.

He preſently conſidered, that in half ſo long a time more, by the proportion of this ſcruple, he muſt be tied to *twelve hours* every day, and therefore, that this ſcruple was unreaſonable; that he intended no ſuch thing, when he made this reſolution, and therefore that he could not be tied: he knew, that a reſolution does not bind a man's ſelf, in things whoſe reaſon varies, and where our liberty is entire, and where no intereſt of a third perſon is concerned. He was ſure, that this ſcruple would make that ſenſe of the reſolution be impoſſible at laſt, and all the way *vexatious* and *intolerable*; he had no leiſure to actuate this ſenſe of the words, and by higher obligations he was tied

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to other duties; he remembered alſo, that now the profit of thoſe good books was received already and grew leſs, and now became changed into a trouble and an inconvenience, and he was ſure he could employ his time better; and yet after all this heap of prudent and religious conſiderations, his thoughts revolved in a reſtleſs circle, and made him fear, he knew not what: he was ſure he was not obliged, and yet durſt not truſt it: he knew his rule, and had light enough to walk by it, but was as fearful to walk in the day, as children are in the night.

Well!—being weary of his trouble, he tells his ſtory, receives advice, to proceed according to the ſenſe of his reaſon, not to the murmurs of his ſcruple; he applies himſelf accordingly.—But here he enters into new fears; for though he reſts in this, that he is not obliged to multiply his readings,

yet he begins to think, that he muſt do ſome equal good thing, in commutation of the duty: for though that particular inſtance became intolerable and impoſſible, yet he tied himſelf to perform that which he believed to be a good thing; and though he was deceived in the particular, yet he was right in the general, and therefore that for the particular he muſt make an exchange.

He does ſo; but as he is doing it, he ſtarts, and begins to think, that every commutation intended for eaſe, is in ſome ſenſe or other, a leſſening of his duty, a diminution of his ſpiritual intereſt, and a note of infirmity: and then he alſo fears, that in judging concerning the matter of his commutation, he has been remiſs, and partial. Now he conſiders, that he ought to conſult with his *Superiors*; and as he is going to do ſo, he begins to think, that his Superior did once chide him for his ſcruple, and that now much more he will do it, and therefore will rather

ſeek

ſeek to aboliſh the opinion of obligation, than change it into another burden: and ſince he knows this beforehand, he fears, leſt it ſhould be expounded to be in him, an artifice to get himſelf eaſed or chidden out of his duty, and cozened out of his obligation.—What ſhall the man do? he dares not truſt himſelf; and if he goes to another, he thinks that this will the more condemn him; he ſuſpects himſelf, but this other renders him, in his poor imagination, juſtly to be ſuſpected by himſelf and others too.—Hereupon, he ſeeks to God in prayer, but conſiders the anſwer of peace may be withheld, for want of his own moſt fervent co-operation.

After a great tumbling of thoughts and ſorrows, he begins to believe, that this ſcrupulouſneſs of conſcience is a temptation, and a puniſhment of his ſins, and then he heaps up all that ever he did; and all that he did not; and all that he might have done; and all that he never could do with comfort;

comfort; and ſeeking for a remedy grows infinitely worſe; till at laſt, God pitying the innocence and trouble of the man, made the evil to ſink down with its own weight; and like a ſorrow, that breaks the ſleep, at laſt growing big, loads the ſpirits; and bringing back the ſleep that it had driven away, cures itſelf by the greatneſs of its own affliction.

Again, a conſcience, ſufficiently inſtructed by proper arguments of perſuaſion, may without ſin proceed to action, againſt the ſcruple of ſtronger tremblings.

This is the beſt remedy that is in nature and reaſon. St. Bernard preached rarely well, and was applauded: but the Devil offering him the temptation of vain-glory, he in reſiſting it, began to think that he had better leave off preaching, than begin to be proud: but inſtantly the Holy Spirit diſcovered to him the deception of the Serpent in this artifice, to which in majeſty of ſpirit he anſwered,

anſwered,—" *I neither began for thee, Satan, nor for thee will I leave off.*" So, againſt a doubting conſcience a perſon may not work, but againſt a ſcrupulous one he may; for a ſcrupulous conſcience does not take away the proper determination of the underſtanding: it is like women handling a frog or a chicken, which all their friends tell them can do no hurt; and they are convinced in reaſon that they cannot; they believe it, and know it; and yet when they take the little one into their hands, they ſkriek, and ſometimes hold faſt, and find their fears confuted: and ſometimes they let go, and find their reaſon uſeleſs.

If the ſcruple prevails upon our weakneſs ſo far as to rifle the better reaſons, then the conſcience loſes its *rule* and its *ſecurity*; and the ſcruple paſſes into a *doubt*, and the law into a *conſultation*, and the judgment into *opinion*, and the conſcience into an undiſcerning undetermined faculty.

A Chriſtian

A Chriſtian, in the dioceſe of Salamis, being faint in his ſtomach before the reception of the Holy Sacrament, diſputes, whether he may take a cordial or a glaſs of wine. Upon enquiry he is told, that to receive the ſacrament *virgine ſaliva*, with faſting ſpittle, was a cuſtom with no authority, no ſanction of Apoſtles, but merely a pious fancy, approaching to appearances of reverence; and that it ought to yield to innocent and neceſſary comforts:—upon this account being ſatisfied, he drinks a little, is well, and communicates with health, and joy, and holineſs.

But afterwards reflecting upon what he had done, he begins to fear he had not done well: that he had done this unuſual thing againſt the cuſtom of the church,—that it was at *leaſt*, *infirmity* in him:—and upon what account it would ſtand with God, he knew not; which upon his own moſt gentle ſentence was, at leaſt, infirmity:

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and twenty other things he thought of, which *ſignified* nothing, but *did* ſomething; that is, they meant no good, but did him great evil: and finding himſelf gotten into a new net, he calls for help, but is told, that he muſt get out of it the ſame way that he came in; and that which was ſufficient cauſe of his doing the action, was ſufficient alſo for the juſtification of it. Theſe reaſons he ought to confront againſt the flies and little pretenſions which diſturbed his mind;—if ſo, he would ſoon perceive, that he had reaſon to be aſhamed of proſtituting and debauching his underſtanding, by ſuch trifles and images of argument.

For, let a man look to his grounds when he begins to act; and when he has acted, let him remember that he did his duty, and give God thanks: for if in the firſt inſtance, he walked by all the light he had, he is not tied to walk it over again: for as God will not of a child exact the prudence and caution

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of a man, but in every age expects a duty anſwerable to the abilities of it; ſo it is in all the ſtages of our reaſon, and growing underſtanding.

Separate therefore your queſtion as much as you can from intereſt, that your determination and enquiry may be pure: then conſider, that to incline to the ſcruple, and to neglect the ſtronger reaſon that ſtands againſt it, is to take the worſe end, it is to do that which muſt ſeem worſe: and then it may be remembered, that if the ſcrupulous is afraid and anxious, by neglecting the ſtronger reaſon, the neglect of that will run upon him like a torrent or a whirlwind, and the ſcruple as a bullruſh, will not ſupport his building. The very deſign of the Covenant Evangelical is, that our duties are demanded, and our ſins accounted for according to the meaſure of a man, and not by the proportions of an Angel: it will follow, that by this goodneſs of God, and a moral diligence, and a good

a good heart, we are ſecured from infirmity, but not from preſumption: for let us weigh never ſo exactly, we may miſs grains or ſcruples; but to ſnatch greedily at the little over-running duſt of the ballance, and to throw away the maſſive ingots that ſunk the ſcales down, is the greateſt folly in the world.

The lines of duty are ſet down ſo clear and legible, are ſo agreeable to reaſon, ſo demonſtrable on their proper principles, ſo eaſy and plain, that we need not run to a prophet to find it out: the counſels of God are not like the oracles of Apollo, double in their ſenſe, intricate in their expreſſion, ſecret in their meaning, deceitful in their meaſures, and otherwiſe in their event than they could be in their expectations. No! the word of God, in the lines of duty, is open as the face of heaven, bright as the Moon, healthful as the Sun's influence: and this is certainly true, that when a thing becomes

becomes obſcure, though it may oblige us to a prudent ſearch, yet it binds us under no guilt, only ſo far as it is, or may be plainly underſtood.

As the melancholy man muſes long, and to no purpoſe; he thinks much, and thinks of nothing; ſo the ſcrupulous man fears exceedingly, but he knows not *what* or *why*: he fears God is angry with him for not doing his duty, and yet he does whatſoever he can learn to be his duty: let him therefore learn, to give his ſcruples leſs and leſs entertainment, and reſolutely determine at laſt to throw them away: let him change the tremblings of his ſpirit to a more conſiderable object, and be ſure, if he fears little things, to fear great things *greatly*; every known ſin let him be ſure to avoid, *little* or *great*; for by this purity he ſhall ſeek God in peace and truth; and the honeſty of his heart will bear him out from the miſchief, if it doth not quit him from the trouble of the ſcruple.

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Let the ſcrupulous avoid all exceſs in mortifications and corporeal auſterities, becauſe theſe are apt to trouble the body, and conſequently to diſorder the mind; and by the prevailing fond opinions of the world, they uſually produce great opinions of ſanctity, and ignorant confidences of God's favour; and by ſpending the fervour of the man in exterior ſignifications, make him apt to take his meaſures from imperfect notices; and then his religion ſhall be ſcruple and impertinency, full of troubles, but good and profitable for little or nothing.

It is wonderful, ſays Cardan, to conſider, what ſtrange products there are of faſting; dreams, ſuperſtition, contempt of torments, deſire of death, obſtinacy in opinion, and madneſs. To all theſe, faſting does naturally prepare us; and concerning Hilarion, it is reported by Saint Jerom, that he was ſo lean and dry with faſting and watching, that his fleſh would ſcarce cleave to his

bones:—then his deſires and capacities of ſleep went away, and for want of ſleep he muſt needs grow light-headed, and then the illuſions of the Devil were prepared and certain to prevail;—then his brains crowed; and he heard in the deſert, children weeping—ſheep bleating—bulls lowing—rattling of chains—and all the phantaſtic noiſes raiſed by the Tempter, to his miſchief. Much to the ſame purpoſe is by Athanaſius reported of Saint Anthony; and this exceſs made Jerom ſcrupulous in reading Tully's Orations; and his own dreams, and not an Angel, whipped him from making and reading good Latin and good ſenſe. Thus unbidden auſterities and unbounded abſtinence, have turned the fear of God into amazement, and dread into diſtraction.

When Saint Anthony was troubled with a ſcrupulous conſcience, that ſo amazed him, that he thought it was impoſſible for him ever to arrive at Heaven, an Angel came

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to him in the likeneſs of an Hermit—or rather, an Hermit ſpake to him like an Angel, and ſaid,—" Sometimes labour with thy hands,—then fall on thy knees and pray,—then refreſh thy body,—then ſometimes reſt,—then labour again;—and ſo ſhalt thou be ſaved." Let us take care that our religion be like our life, not done like pictures, taken when we are moſt curiouſly dreſſed out, but looking as the actions of our life are dreſſed; that is, ſo as things can be conſtantly done; that is, that it be dreſſed with the uſual circumſtances, imitating the examples and uſages of the beſt and moſt prudent perſons of his own communion: ſtriving to be ſingular in nothing; not doing violence to any thing of nature, unleſs it be an inſtrument to vice, For in ſcrupulous and melancholy perſons, nature is to be cheriſhed in every thing where there is no danger; that is, where ſhe is not *petulant* and *troubleſome:* becauſe ſuch people

have more need of ſomething to repair their houſe, than to leſſen it.

Let the ſcrupulous take care, that they make no vows of any laſting employment. For the diſeaſe is already within, and new matter from without, will make new caſes of conſcience, and new fears and ſcruples upon the manner, and degrees, and circumſtances of the performance. Therefore, whatever good thing they intend, let them do it when they can, when it is pleaſant, when it is convenient, and always reſerve their liberty. For beſides, that to do otherwiſe muſt needs multiply ſcruples, it is alſo more pleaſing to God, that we make our ſervices to be every day *choſen*, than after one general choice, to have the particulars *done* and *hated* in the act.

But that I may ſum up many particulars in one.—The ſcrupulous perſon muſt avoid *thoſe companies*, and *thoſe employments*, and thoſe *Books*, from whence the clouds ariſe; eſpecially

eſpecially the books of ineffective and phantaſtic notion; ſuch as are Legends of Saints, *ridiculouſly and weakly invented*, furniſhed out for *ideas*, not for actions of common life, with dreams and falſe propoſitions. For the ſcrupulous and fearful will eaſily be troubled, if they find themſelves fall ſhort of thoſe fine images of virtue, which ſome have deſcribed; ſo deep indeed, that they make a *fine picture*, but *like no body*. Such alſo are the books of Myſtical Theology, which have in them, the moſt high, the moſt troubleſome, the moſt myſterious nothings in the world, and little better than the effluxes of a religious madneſs.

In fine, a ſcruple may ariſe in doing every duty, in the remembrance of every action: and to ſtop one gap when the evil may enter in at five hundred, I ſuppoſe not worthy my labour: if the ſcrupulous endeavours to reduce his body to a fair temper—

to enkindle in his thoughts a great and gradual love of God, and high opinions of mercy—to purſue the *purgative way* of faith—to extinguiſh vice, and perform purity, frequently and conſtantly, this will affect him with ſufficient humility, and by perfect obedience caſt out the torment of fear.

A CONSI-

A CONSIDERATION,

IN WHAT CASES

THE LAWS OF CHRIST

ARE TO BE EXPOUNDED

TO

A SENSE OF EASE AND LIBERTY.

SINCE the great deſign of the Law of God is a perfection perpetually growing in this world, without arriving at its full ſtate and period; that ſenſe which ſets us moſt forward, is the moſt intended; and therefore this way, is not only to quiet the doubt, but to govern and rule the conſcience, in the meaſures of God, and the little capacities of man.

If the ſtrict and ſeverer ſenſe of the law be too great for the ſtate and ſtrength of

the man; that is, if it be apt to make him deſpair,—to make him throw away his burden,—to make him tire and be weary of, and to hate religion, his infirmities are to be pitied, and the ſevereſt ſenſe of the law is not to be exacted from him. Every law of Heaven being a deſign of making a man happy, ſurely, every commandment of God is then beſt underſtood, when it is made to do moſt good, and is reſcued from being an occaſion of evil.

But this at no hand means that any material part of our duty may be omitted, in compliance with thoſe infirmities, which are by reſolution ſurmountable: that burden of ſoberneſs, righteouſneſs, and godlineſs, which the wiſdom of God has made reaſonable and tolerable, our neceſſity and intereſt makes unavoidable, and love will make delectable and eaſy.

But the burden which can and may be leſſened, is the burden of the degrees of intenſion,

intenſion, which conſiſts not in a mathematical point, but is capable of growth: whatever is of ſuch a nature; as is always to encreaſe in this life, in that ſuch abatements may be made, as will fit the perſon and the ſtate. No man is to be quarrelled at, for *how much* he believes, or how *deep* he loves, in the firſt progreſſions of his piety;—only he is to be invited on by proper and fair inducements; and if he ſtands ſtill always, as he is to be ſuſpected for want of love, ſo he is to be warned of his danger, and thruſt forward by the memory of the beſt examples.

Thus it may not upon any terms be permitted to any weak perſon to do an act of injuſtice,—to blaſpheme God,—to reproach his parents,—to be laſcivious,—to ſlander his brother,—to neglect his children,—to ſeparate from his wife, becauſe he is weary of her—this I ſay, muſt never be permitted, for fear, that if we do not indulge him in theſe points,

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we ſhould drive him from our communion:—we are not to promiſe Heaven to bad livers, ſo proceeding, ſo perſiſting in their ſins, for fear of offending as they may call it, a weak conſcience; but what is in reality, a conſcience ſeared with an hot iron:—that is, we muſt not allow any man to do one evil, to hinder him from another, or give him leave to break one commandment to preſerve another: to comply with any wickedneſs in theſe views, is deceitful and deſtructive to the Miniſter and the man; but to comply with little weakneſſes, founded in a frail conſtitution, this is not quenching the ſmoking flax, and this in charity is to be permitted.

Thus,—If it be enquired, whether our ſorrow for our ſins ought to be as ſharp and full of agony, as the ſorrow of a mother for the death of her only child? this being a queſtion of degrees which cannot conſiſt in an indiviſible point, is never limited

limitted or determinate: any degree conſiſtent with the main duty, may be permitted him, whoſe neceſſity requiries ſuch indulgence:—and if he be ſorrowful in ſuch a degree, as to move him to pray paſſionately and perſeveringly for pardon—any degree, that begets in him a wiſe caution and dereliction of ſin,—a war and a victory,—a death unto ſin, and a life of rigtheouſneſs,—the penitent is not to be prejudiced, either by the degree of his ſorrow, or the thickneſs of its edge; and the commandment of general repentance is ſo be expounded, as to ſecure the duty, and to ſecure the man too.

And if he be told, that this ſorrow in repentance muſt be ſupreme and ſo ſevere, even ſo far as almoſt to ſwallow him up with overmuch ſorrow; he that finds this impoſſible (as it is to burſt into tears when we pleaſe) will let penitence alone; for it were as good never awhit, as never the better:

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but then he that tells him ſo, hath bound a burthen too heavy on his brother's ſhoulder: for if God cheriſhes the babes in Chriſt, and is pleaſed with every ſtep of our progreſſion, then it is certain, they who are but as babes in Chriſt, are to be treated accordingly.

But then, if the queſtion be concerning the integrity of the repentance, he that is told that reſtitution, if in his power, muſt attend his repentance to attain pardon; if he will kick at religion for requiring this duty, he is not to be permitted in his folly. I have read of a gentleman, who being on his death bed, (and his Confeſſor ſearching and dreſſing his wounded ſoul), was called to make reſtitution of a conſiderable ſum of money; his Confeſſor found him deſirous to be ſaved,—a lover of his religion,—and yet to have a kindneſs for his eſtate, which he wiſhed to be entirely tranſmitted to his beloved heir. He would repent of

all

all other iniquities, and hoped for mercy; and reſolved, in caſe of recovery, to live ſtrictly, free from all future injuſtice, and to relieve the poor continually: but to make reſtitution, he ſaid, was altogether againſt him, and he hoped the commandment would not require it of him; and he deſired to be relieved by an eaſy and favourable interpretation: — for it is ten thouſand pities, ſo many good actions and good purpoſes ſhould be vain; but it is worſe, infinitely worſe, if the man ſhould periſh.

In this caſe, what ſhould the Confeſſor do? ſhall not the man be relieved, and his piety accepted? or ſhall the rigour and impertinent niceneſs of the Confeſſor caſt away a ſoul, either in future miſery, or preſent diſcomfort? — neither the one nor the other was to be done: and the good man had only to conſider, what God had made neceſſary, not what the vices of the

the penitent, or his preſent follies had made ſo.

Well, the prieſt inſiſts upon his firſt reſolution,—the money to be reſtored; the poor clinick uneaſy in the loſs of a duty, deſires the Confeſſor to deal with his ſon, and try if he could be made willing that his father might go to Heaven at his charge. He attempted it; but the ſon anſwered with extreme rudeneſſes and injurious language, which cauſed great trouble to the prieſt, and to the dying father.

At laſt the Confeſſor found out this device; telling the penitent, that unleſs by corporeal penances, there could be made ſatisfaction in exchange for reſtitution, he knew no hopes:—but becauſe the profit of the eſtate which was obliged to reſtitution, was to deſcend upon the ſon, he thought ſomething might be hoped, if, by way of commutation, the ſon would hold his finger in a burning candle for a quarter of an hour.

The

The father being overjoyed at this loop-hole of Eternity, this glimpſe of Heaven, and the certain retaining of the whole eſtate, called to his ſon, told him the condition, and the advantages of them both; making no queſtion, but he would gladly undertake the penance.

But the ſon with indignation replied, he would not endure ſo much torture to ſave the whole eſtate. To which the prieſt, ſpying the advantage, made this quick return to the old man.—Sir, if your ſon will not for a quarter of an hour endure the pains of a burning finger to ſave your ſoul, will you to ſave a portion of the eſtate for him, endure the flames of Hell to eternal ages? The unreaſonableneſs of the odds, and the ungratefullneſs of the ſon, and the importunity of the prieſt, and the fear of Hell, and the indeſpenſible neceſſity of reſtitution, awakened the old man from his lethargy, and he bowed himſelf to the rule, made reſtitution,

reſtitution, and had hopes of pardon, and preſent comfort.

Thus if we conſider things without the prejudice of eaſy and popular opinions, though it be ſaid, that to tell truth, is an act of juſtice, yet this is not true in all propoſitions; but in ſuch truths, as concern a man, *for ſome real good to him, or for ſome imaginary good, which hath no real evil.* But when the telling of a truth will certainly be the cauſe of evil to a man, though he have a right to truth, it muſt not be given him to his harm: it is like the giving to a madman his own ſword; for you had better give him a wooden dagger, though the other be his own. Truth is juſtice when it does good; when it ſerves the ends of wiſdom, or advantage, or real pleaſure, or ſomething that ought or may be deſired; and every trifling truth is no more juſtice, than every reſtitution of a ſtraw in the ſtreet to the right owner, is a duty.

Other

Other dividers of the truth there are in the Church of Rome, ſchoolmen, caſuiſts, critics and preachers, to each their trades and diſtinct principles; but to avoid all impoſition, all diſſatisfaction in caſes of conſcience, let prudence conduct piety, and piety lead juſtice, and both be ſanctified by the word of God and of prayer; which like the paranymphs of a virgin in the ſolemnity of marriage help to lead and to adorn her: and therefore, whether *intereſts* or *indulgence* are to be preferred, in making up a probable opinion, is juſt to be anſwered as if we ſhould aſk, which is beſt of *feathers or wool?* they both

have their excellencies in order to *warmth*; and yet if you offer to ſwallow them down, they will infallibly choke you.

QUESTION

QUESTION ON GAMING.

Whether or no the making and providing ſuch inſtruments, which uſually miniſter to it, is by interpretation ſuch an aid to the ſin, as to involve us in the guilt?

TO this I anſwer, firſt in general, that all thoſe arts, and trades, which miniſter only to vanity and trifling pleaſures, are of ill fame, ſuch as jugglers, tumblers, players, fencers, or the like: becauſe every Chriſtian is to labour with his hands, that which is *good*, or *true*, or *juſt*, or *pure*, or *lovely*, or of *good report*: and it will be hard to reduce vagrant mimics to any of theſe heads. But I cannot ſee reaſon enough to ſay, that if a ſecond perſon ſins, by uſing theſe arts and their productions, the artiſt is partaker of the crime: becauſe he,

deſigning only to maintain himſelf, and to pleaſe the eyes, and ears, and youthful paſſions of others, may poſſibly not communicate in their ſin, who have over-acted their liberty and their vanity. But becauſe ſuch perſons are not ſo wiſe as to diſcern ſo nicely one formality from another, but deſire upon any terms to get as much money as they can, therefore ſuch perſons ought to be reproved, though the arts themſelves might otherwiſe be tolerated. Alexander did very well to a fellow, who made it his trade and livelihood, to ſtand at a diſtance and throw little peaſe in at the eye of a needle made on purpoſe juſt ſo big as would receive them: the fellow ſeeing the prince admire his dextrous aim, expected a great reward; and the prince obſerving the fellow's expectation, rewarded him with a whole buſhel of peas. It was a reward worthy of ſuch an employment. A man cannot be blamed, for having ſuch an art, but

but he that makes that to be his trade, is no better than an idle perſon: and therefore, although he cannot be ſaid merely for his art to be in a ſtate of damnation, yet, becauſe if other things were well, he would ſoon employ himſelf better, therefore ſuch perſons when they come near a ſpiritual guide, are to be called off from that which at the beſt, is good for nothing, and ſtands too near a ſin, to be endured in the ſcrutinies of Life Eternal.

But ſome inquire, whether the trade of Card-makers and Dice-makers be lawful? and the reaſon of their doubt is, becauſe the things are uſed by the worſt of men to very vile purpoſes, and therefore are ſuſpected as guilty in part of the conſequent crimes.

To which I anſwer, that ſome things miniſter to ſin immediately, others mediately only, and by intervention of ſomething elſe: ſome miniſter to ſin inevitably, by

deſign and inſtitution, others by the fault of them that uſe them ill: and laſtly, ſome things to evil, and to no good, others to good and evil promiſcuouſly. Theſe three diſtinctions make but one difference of things, but give ſeveral reaſons of that difference. Thoſe things which miniſter to ſin immediately, by their very nature and deſign, and to no good, except by accident, are certainly unlawful: and of this there is no queſtion, for all the reaſons contained in their deſcriptions, *they are of evil, and they are evil, and they tend to evil.* But if they can miniſter to good, if they are innocent of themſelves, if they can be uſed without doing hurt, although they are generally abuſed, yet he that makes them in order only to ſuch uſes, to which of themſelves they can and ought to miniſter, partakes not of the ſin of them, that abuſe the production of his art. This is remarkable in the caſe of pictures and images;

concerning

concerning the making of which there was a great queſtion in the Primitive Church, but the caſe of conſcience they thus determined. It was unlawful to make pictures or images for Heathen Temples, or for any uſe of religion: he that makes them, that they may be worſhipped, partakes of his ſin that does worſhip them. But becauſe the art of ſtatuary and painting might be uſed to better purpoſes, therefore they were adviſed to ſeparate them from all approaches to religion. Such alſo is the anſwer concerning cards and dice. But although this be but an inſtance of this rule; yet becauſe it relates to the practice of ſo great a part of mankind, it may deſerve to be conſidered alone in order to that relation and that practice. For, it wholly depends upon this, if it be innocent, if it can be good to play at cards, and dice, then the trade of making the inſtruments of playing, is alſo innocent. If not, that which miniſters to nothing but ſin, muſt be

of the kindred of ſin, and in the ſame condemnation. Many fierce declamations from ancient ſanctity have been uttered againſt cards and dice, by reaſon of the craft uſed in the game, and the conſequent evils, as invented by the Devil. And indeed, this is almoſt the whole ſtate of the queſtion; for there are ſo many evils in the uſe of theſe ſports, they are made trades of fraud and livelihood, they are accompanied ſo with drinking and ſwearing, they are ſo ſcandalous by blaſphemies and quarrels, ſo infamous by miſpending precious time, and the ruin of many families, they ſo often make wiſe men fools and ſlaves of paſſion, that we may ſay of thoſe who uſe them inordinately, they are in an ocean of miſchief, and can hardly ſwim to ſhore, without periſhing.

On this account the civil laws of Ægypt and Rome ſent a detected gameſter to baniſhment, or confined him in the quarries: and

and when drinking and gaming are joined ſo frequently, that they are knit in a proverb, that theſe together baffle the ſpirit of a man and drive away the ſpirit of God, that they weaken the mind, without a wound, it is no wonder that Chriſtian Magiſtrates have forbidden it ſo fiercely, and cenſured it ſo ſeverely.

But if the caſe can be otherwiſe, if playing can become an innocent recreation, then all theſe terrible and true ſentences will not reach them that ſo uſe it. And indeed, even amongſt thoſe places and Republics, where ſuch gaming was ſo highly condemned, and ſo ſeverely puniſhed, ſome of their braver men did uſe it, but without the vile appendages, and therefore without ſcandal or reproach.

For, firſt in general, it cannot miſbecome a wiſe and good man to unbend his bow, and to relax the ſeverities, the ſtrictures, and more earneſt tendencies of his mind.

Porcius

Porcius Cato, with all his ſeverity would play ſometimes, for recreation. And if cards and tables have in their own nature nothing that is evil, provided it can alſo be ſeparated from other appendages, from the crimes and from the reproach, from the danger and from the ſcandal, that which only remains, is, that they may be uſed, as well as other innocent divertiſements. In the caſe ſo ſtated, we ſuppoſe them only to be relaxations of the mind, ſaid Julian, ſuch little employments are like the pauſes of muſic, they are *reſts* to the ſpirit, and intervals of labour: and therefore John of Saliſbury allows of every game, if it can eaſe our griefs, or alleviate our burdens without the loſs of our innocence.

Now, that cards and dice are allowable I do not know any reaſon to doubt. For, if they be unlawful, it is becauſe they are forbidden, or becauſe there is in them ſomething that is forbidden.—They are no where

of

of themſelves forbidden; and what is in them, that is criminal or ſuſpicious? Is it becauſe there is chance and contingency in them? So there is in all human affairs: in merchandiſe, in laying wagers, in all conſultations and wars, in journeys and agriculture, in teaching and learning, in putting children to ſchool, or keeping them at home, in the price of markets, and the vendibility of commodities. And if it be ſaid, that there is in all theſe things an over-ruling Providence; though no man can tell in what manner, or by what means, the divine Providence brings ſuch things to a determinate event, yet it is certain, that every little thing, as well as every great thing is under God's government, and our recreations, as well as our wagers. But, what if it be, and what if it be not? He can never be ſuſpected in any criminal ſenſe to tempt the divine Providence, who by contingent things recreates his labour, and having acquired his

his refreſhment hath no other end to ſerve, and no deſires to engage the divine Providence to any other purpoſe, and this end is ſufficiently ſecured by whatſoever happens. I know nothing elſe, that can be pretended to render evil appendages, which are ſo frequently attending this kind of game, beſides that they are near alſo to other exerciſes, as to theſe, bowling, horſe-racing, cock-fighting, the fight of quails and partridges, bull-baiting, billiards, and all other games for money and victory, to ſome more, and to ſome leſs; beſides this I ſay, the evil appendage are all ſeparable from theſe games, and till they be ſeparated, they are not lawful; but they may be ſeparated by the following advices.

Rules of conducting our Sports and Recreations.

1. Let no one's affections be addicted immoderately to them, becauſe in the kingdom of folly, we are moſt pleaſed with thoſe things by which we have the leaſt profit: and

and the want of doing us good is ſupplied by doing us pleaſure. Their uſe and abuſe is, as in food and ſleep, when they are neceſſary comforts, but not frequent, not long. In theſe a little time may be ſpent, but not all. The limits of theſe things are not ſo ſtreight as neceſſity, nor yet ſo large as humour or deſire: but as a man may drink to quench his thirſt, and to eaſe his grief, and he may yet drink more to refreſh his ſorrow, and to alleviate his ſpirits, provided he turn not his liberty into a ſnare, ſo he may in his recreation and his ſports.

To this purpoſe was that ſaying of Plato, "It is no great matter to play at dice or tables, but to be accuſtomed to it, is a great matter,"—that is, to make it a portion of our buſineſs, an expence of our time due to worthy employments; and therefore in the laws, not the action itſelf, but the abuſe, and particularly the frequency, is noted and forbidden. A man may innocently, and

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to good purpoſes go to a tavern, but they who frequent them, have no excuſe, unleſs their innocent buſineſs does frequently engage, and their ſevere religion bring them off ſafely. And ſo it is in theſe ſports; there is only one cauſe of uſing them, and that comes but ſeldom, the refreſhment, I mean, of myſelf or my friend, to which I miniſter in juſtice or in charity; but when our ſports come to that exceſs, that we long and ſeek for opportunities; when we tempt others, are weary of our buſineſs, and not weary of our game; when we ſit up till midnight, and ſpend half days, and that often too; then we have ſpoiled the ſport, it is not a recreation but a ſin.

2. He that means to make his games lawful, muſt not play for money, but for refreſhment. This, though few may believe, yet is the moſt conſiderable thing to be amended in the games of civil and ſober perſons. For the gaining of money can have no

no influence into the game to make it the more recreative, unleſs covetuouſneſs holds the box. The recreation is to divert the mind or body from labours, by attending to ſomething that pleaſes and gives no trouble; now this is in the conduct of your game, in the managing a proſperous chance to advantage, and removing the unproſperous from detriment and loſs of victory, ſo to croſs the proverb.

Πεπλωκεν εξω κακων ὁ Χῖος αλλα Κῶος.

and that by wit he may relieve his adverſe chance, and by a ſymbol learn to make good and virtuous uſe of every croſs accident. But when money is at ſtake, either the ſum is trifling, or it is conſiderable. If trifling, it can be of no purpoſe unleſs to ſerve the ends of ſome little hoſpitable entertainment or love-feaſt, and then there is nothing amiſs; but if conſiderable, a wide door is opened to temptation, and a man cannot be indifferent to win or loſe a great ſum of money, though

though he can eaſily pretend it. If a man be willing or indifferent to loſe his own money, and not at all deſirous to get anothers, to what purpoſe is it that he plays for it? If he be not indifferent, then he is covetous or he is a fool; he covets what is not his own, or unreaſonably ventures that which is. If without the money, he cannot mind his game, then the game is no divertiſement, no recreation, but the money is all the ſport, and therefore covetouſneſs is all the deſign: but if he can be recreated by the game alone, the money does but change it from lawful to unlawful, and the man from being weary to become covetous, and from the trouble of labour or ſtudy, remove him to the worſe trouble of fear, or anger, or impatient deſires. Here begins the miſchief, here men begin for the money to uſe vile arts; here cards and dice begin to be diabolical, when players are witty to defraud and undo one another; when eſtates are ventured,

ventured, and families are made ſad and poor by a luckleſs chance. And what ſport is it to me to loſe my money, if it be at all valuable? and if it be not, what is it to my game? But ſure the pleaſure is in winning the money, that certainly is it. But they who make paſtime of a neighbour's ruin, are the worſt of men, ſaid the comedy. But concerning the loſs of our money, let a man pretend what he will, that he plays for no more than he is willing to loſe, it is certain we ought not to believe him; for if that ſum is ſo indifferent to him, why is not he eaſy to be tempted to give ſuch a ſum to the poor? whenever this is the caſe, he ſins, that games for money beyond an inconſiderable ſum; let the ſtake be nothing, or almoſt nothing, and the cards or dice are innocent, and the game as innocent as puſh-pin: when we play only for recreation, we expoſe nothing to hazard, and therefore it cannot be a criminal tempting

of God, as it is in gaming for money, where no wit, no obſervation, no caution can ſave our ſtake, for, ſays the epigram, no man is crafty enough to play againſt an ill hand, and therefore to put a conſiderable intereſt to the hazard of a family's ruin, or at leaſt more than we would give to Chriſt, is a great tempting of God. And in theſe caſes, as I have often heard from them that have ſkill in ſuch things, there are ſuch ſtrange chances, ſuch promoting of a hand by fancy, and little arts of geomancy, ſuch conſtant winning on one ſide, ſuch unreaſonable loſſes on the other, and theſe ſtrange contingencies produce ſuch horrid effects, that it is not improbable, that God hath permitted the conduct of ſuch games of chance to the Devil, who will order them ſo where he can do moſt miſchief; but without the inſtrumentality of money he could do nothing at all.

There are two little caſes pretended to leſſen this evil, and bring it from unlawful

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to lawful. The one is, that when a man hath loſt his money, he deſires to play on for no other reaſon, but to recover his own: the queſtion is, whether that be lawful or no. To this I can give no direct anſwer, for no man can at firſt tell, whether it be or no; but at the beſt it is very ſuſpicious, for it engages him upon more loſs of time, and he tempts God in a further hazard, and gives himſelf the lie, by making it appear, that, whatever he pretended, he did play for more than he was willing to loſe. He plays on that he may give over, and loſes more that he may not loſe ſo much, and is vexed with covetouſneſs, and chides his fortune, and reproves he knows not what: ſo that by this time I can tell whether he ſined or no: for though it was hard to ſay, whether he did well or ill to deſire the recovery of his money, yet when we ſee upon what terms it is deſigned and acted, the queſtion is very eaſy to be reſolved, and the man had better ſit down

with that loſs, than venture a greater, and commit more ſins.

The other caſe is this—If I can without covetouſneſs of money play, is it then lawful? and to ſhew, that I am not covetous, I will give the money I win, to my ſervants or the poor.—When Theodoric, king of the Goths, won at dice or tables, he was very bountiful to his ſervants, and being overpleaſed with his good fortune, would grant them any thing. But Auguſtus did uſe to do this thing bravely; he would forgive twenty-thouſand crowns, to thoſe, of whom he had won it, and chuſe this bounty, as a way to immortality. Now, it is true, this is a fair indication, that avarice was not the prevailing ingredient, but to him that conſiders it wiſely, it will appear to be but a ſplendid nothing. For what kind of ſport is that, to bring it into my power to oblige my play-fellow with his own money, and what is that bounty, by which I reward my friends and ſervants with another man's eſtate?—

Paryſatis

Paryſatis did it yet more innocently, when playing with her young ſon Artaxerxes, ſhe on purpoſe loſt a thouſand darics at a throw, to help the young prince to money. Thus far it was well enough; for I doubt not, but it is as lawful to loſe my money, as to give it away, if there be nothing elſe in it: but beſides, that it is not ſo honourable, it may be, he that plays againſt me, is not of my mind, or of my ability, and I correſpond to him in an action, in which he is not ſo innocent as I ſhould be, if I did not ſomething miniſter to his evil; ſo that though I play, that I may oblige him, yet there are ſo many circumſtances required to keep myſelf and him innocent, that it is a thouſand times better in ſome caſes, to give him ſomething, and in all caſes to play for nothing.

In the civil laws of the Romans, all the money won by gameſters was ſpent upon public works; and even with us, no man can play lawfully at ſuch games, but thoſe

who are diſpaſſionate and of ſober ſpirits, under the command of reaſon and religion; and therefore to play for money, will be quickly criminal, for the heart is more troubled at the loſs of money than a funeral, and there is but little ſport in ſuch games. For this, Alexander ſet a fine on two friends, becauſe they did not play, but contend, as in a battle. Seneca tells us, that Julius Canus was playing at tables, when the Centurion, leading a troop of men to a deſperate ſervice called him to attend. Canus know the danger well enough, but being ſummoned, bid his play-fellow tell the men upon the tables; and now, ſays he, do not ſay when I am dead, that you had the better of the game; and deſired the Centurion to bear him witneſs, that he had one man more than the other.—He that is thus even and ſerene may fairly play; but he that would be ſo, muſt not venture conſiderable portions of his eſtate, nor any thing, the loſs of which diſpleaſes him, and ſhakes him into

into paſſion. Not that every diſpleaſure, though for a trifle, is criminal; but that every degree of it tends to evil, and the uſe of it is not ſafe, and the effect may be intolerable: if the chances will not run as we will have them, or if our paſſions will not, then it is at no hand ſafe to play; unleſs to fret, and vex ſecretly for trifles, to ſwear and lie, to blaſpheme and curſe, to cheat and to ſwear, to covet and to hate can be innocent.

Upon theſe accounts, young men ſhould be withheld from ſuch dangerous amuſements, becauſe they have fierce deſires, and quick angers, and by chance are ſoon kindled into flame. It is a ſad ſtory that is told of the Emperor Claudius his only ſon, who when he had loſt all his money at dice, and had tired out all his invention for the getting of more, ſtole a rich jewel from his father's cloſet, his tutor knowing and concealing the crime. But it came to the Emperor's ear, and produced this tragedy; he diſinherited

his ſon; baniſhed his play-fellows, and put the tutor to death.

In plays and games then, as in other entertainments, we muſt neither do evil, nor ſeem to do evil; we muſt not converſe with evil perſons, nor uſe our liberty to a brother's prejudice or grief. We muſt not do any thing, which he with probability, or with innocent weakneſs thinks to be amiſs, until he be rightly inſtructed; but, where nothing of theſe things intervene, and nothing of the former evils is appendant, we may uſe our liberty with reaſon and ſobriety; and then, if this liberty can be ſo uſed, and ſuch recreations can be innocent, as they aſſuredly may, there is no further queſtion, but thoſe trades, which miniſter to theſe divertiſements, are innocent and lawful.

TWO LETTERS TO Perſons changed in their RELIGION.

LETTER I.

THE FIRST TO A GENTLEWOMAN SEDUCED TO THE CHURCH OF ROME.

I WAS deſirous of an opportunity in London to have diſcourſed with you about ſomething of neareſt concernment to you, but the multitude of my little affairs hindered me, and have brought upon you this trouble to read a long letter; which yet I hope you will be more willing to do, becauſe it comes from one who has a great reſpect for your perſon, and a very great charity to your ſoul. I muſt confeſs, I was troubled on your behalf, when I heard you

you were fallen from the communion of the Church of England, and entered into a voluntary, unneceſſary ſchiſm, departing from the laws of the King, and the communion of thoſe with whom you have always lived in charity: going againſt thoſe laws, in the defence and profeſſion of which your huſband died, going from the religion in which you were baptized, in which for ſo many years you lived piouſly, and hoped for Heaven—and all this without any ſufficient reaſon, without neceſſity or juſt ſcandal miniſtered to you. And to aggravate all this, you did it in a time, when the church of England was perſecuted and marked with the croſs of her maſter, that is, when ſhe ſuffered for a holy cauſe and an holy conſcience, and was more glorious than at any time before: when ſhe could ſhew more martyrs and confeſſors than any church in Chriſtendom—when a king died in the profeſſion, and thouſands of prieſts learned and pious,

pious, ſuffered the ſpoiling of their goods rather than forſake one article of ſo excellent a Religion. So that ſeriouſly, it is not eaſily to be imagined that any thing ſhould move you, unleſs it be that which troubled the perverſe Jews, and the heathen Greek, *Scandalum crucis*, the ſcandal of the croſs. You ſtumbled at that rock of offence, you left us becauſe we were afflicted, leſſened in open circumſtances, and wrapped in a cloud: but give me leave only to remind you of that ſaying of the ſcripture, that you may avoid the conſequence of it; *they that fall on this ſtone, ſhall be broken in pieces; but they on whom it ſhall fall, it will grind them to powder.* And if we ſhould conſider things but prudently, it is a great argument that the ſons of our church are very conſcientious and juſt in their perſuaſions, when it is evident, that we have no temporal end to ſerve, nothing but the great end of our ſouls; all our hopes of preferment are gone,

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all ſecular regards; only we ſtill have truth on our ſides, and we are not willing with the loſs of truth, to change from a perſecuted to a proſperous church, from a reformed to a church that will not be reformed; leſt we give ſcandal to good people that ſuffer for a holy conſcience, and weaken the hands of the afflicted; of which, if you had been more careful, you would have remained much more innocent. But, I pray, give me leave to conſider for you, becauſe you, in your change, conſidered ſo little for yourſelf; what fault, what falſe doctrine, what wicked and dangerous propoſition, what defect, what amiſs did you find in the doctrine and liturgy, and Church of England? for it is doctrine, it is certain it profeſſes the belief of all that is written in the Old and New Teſtament, all that which is in the three creeds, the Apoſtolical, the Nicene, and that of Athanaſius, and whatſoever was decreed in the four general councils, or any other

other truly ſuch; and whatſoever was condemned in theſe, our Church hath legally declared to be hereſy. And upon theſe accounts, above four whole ages of the Church went to heaven; they baptized all their catechuments into this faith, their hopes of heaven was upon this and a good life, their ſaints and martyrs lived and died in this alone, they denied communion to none that profeſſed their faith. This is the catholic faith, ſo ſaid the creed of Athanaſius; and unleſs a company of men have power to alter the faith of God, whoſoever live and die in this faith, are entirely catholic and chriſtian: ſo that the Church of England hath the ſame faith, without diſpute, that the Church had four hundred or five hundred years ago; and therefore there could be nothing wanting here to ſaving faith, if we live according to our belief.

1. For the liturgy of the Church of England, I ſhall not need to ſay much, becauſe the

the caſe will be very evident; firſt, becauſe the diſputers of the Church of Rome have not been very forward to object any thing againſt it, they cannot charge it with any evil: 2. Becauſe for all the time of King Edward the ſixth, and till the eleventh year of Queen Elizabeth, your people came to our Churches, and prayed with us, till the bull of Pius Quintus came out upon temporal regards, and made a ſchiſm, by forbidding the Queen's ſubjects to pray as by law was here appointed, though the prayers were good and holy, as themſelves believe. That bull enjoined recuſancy, and made that which was an act of rebellion, and diſobedience, and ſchiſm, to be the character of your Roman Catholicks. And after this, what can be ſuppoſed wanting to ſalvation! we have the word of God, the faith of the apoſtles, the creeds of the primitive church, the articles of the four firſt general councils, a holy liturgy, excellent prayers, perfect

ſacraments,

ſacraments, faith, and repentance, the ten commandments, and the ſermons of Chriſt, and all the precepts and councils of the goſpel. We teach the neceſſity of good works, and require and ſtrictly exact the ſeverity of a holy life, we live in obedience to God, and are ready to die for him, and do ſo when he requires us ſo to do; we ſpeak honorably of his moſt holy name; we worſhip him at the mention of his name; we confeſs his attributes, we love his ſervants, we pray for all men; we love all chriſtians, even our moſt erring brethren: we confeſs our ſins to God and to our brethren whom we have offended, and to God's miniſters in caſes of ſcandal or of a troubled conſcience: we communicate often, we are enjoined to receive the holy ſacrament thrice every year at leaſt: our prieſts abſolve the penitent; our biſhops ordain prieſts, and confirm baptized perſons; and bleſs their people and intercede for them, and what

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could be here wanting to ſalvation; what neceſſity forced you from us; I dare not ſuſpect it was a temporal regard that drew you away, but I am ſure it could be no ſpiritual?

But now that I have told you, and made you to conſider from whence you went; give me leave to repreſent to you, and tell you whither you are gone, that you may underſtand the nature and conditions of your change. For do not think yourſelf ſafe, becauſe they tell you that you are come to the church; you are indeed gone from one church to another, from a better to a worſe, as will appear in the induction, the particulars of which, before I reckon, give me leave to give you this advice: if you mean in this affair to underſtand what you do, it were better you enquired what your religion is, than what your church is, for that which is a true religion to day, will be ſo to *morrow* and for *ever*; but that which is a holy

holy church to day may be heretical at the next change, or may betray her truſt, or obtrude new articles in contradiction to the old, or by new interpretations may elude antient truths, or may change your creed, or may pretend to be the ſpouſe of Chriſt, when ſhe is idolatrous, that is, adulterous to God: your religion is that which you muſt, and therefore may competently underſtand; you muſt live in it, and grow in it, and govern all the actions of your life by it, and in all queſtions concerning the church, you are to chuſe your church by the religion, and therefore this ought firſt and laſt to be enquired after.

Whether the Roman church be the catholic church, muſt depend upon ſo many uncertain enquiries, is offered to be proved by ſo long, ſo tedious a method; hath in it ſo many intrigues and labyrinths of queſtions, and is (like a long line) ſo impoſſible to be perfectly ſtreight, and to have no

declination in it when it is held by ſuch a hand as yours, that unleſs it be by material enquiries into the articles of the religion, you can never hope to have juſt grounds of confidence.—In the mean time you can conſider this, if the Roman church were the catholic, that is, ſo as to exclude all that are not of her communion, then the Greek churches had as good turn Turks as remain damned Chriſtians, and all that are in the communion of all the other patriarchal churches in Chriſtendom, muſt alſo periſh like heathens; which thing before any man can believe, he muſt have put off all reaſon, and all modeſty, and all charity. And who can with any probability think that the communion of ſaints in the creed is nothing but the communion of Roman ſubjects, and the article of the catholic church was made up to diſpark the incloſures of Jeruſalem, but to turn them into the pale of Rome, and the church

church is as limited as ever it was, ſave only that the ſynagogue is tranſlated to Rome, which I think you will eaſily believe was a propoſition the Apoſtles underſtood not. But though it be hard to truſt to it, it is alſo ſo hard to prove it, that you ſhall never be able to underſtand the meaſures of that queſtion, and therefore your ſalvation can never depend upon it. For no good or wiſe perſon can believe that God hath tied our ſalvation to impoſſible meaſures, or bound us to an article that is not by us cognoſcible, or intends to have us conducted by that which we cannot underſtand.

And when you ſhall know that learned men, even of the Roman party, are not agreed concerning the catholic church that is infallibly to guide you, ſome ſaying that it is the virtual church, that is, the pope; ſome, that it is the repreſentative church, that is, a council; ſome, that it is the pope and the council, the virtual church and the

repreſentative church together; ſome, that neither of theſe, nor both together are infallible, but only, the eſſential church, or the diffuſive church is the catholic, from whom we muſt at no hand diſſent; you will quickly find yourſelf in a wood, and uncertain whether you have more than a word in exchange for your ſoul, when you are told you are in the catholic church.

But I will tell you what you may underſtand, and ſee, and feel, ſomething that yourſelf can tell whether I ſay true or no concerning it. You are now gone to a church that protects itſelf by arts of ſubtility and arms, by violence and perſecuting all that are not of their minds, to a church in which you are to be a ſubject of the King ſo long as it pleaſes the Pope: in which you may be abſolved from your vows made to God, your oaths to the king, your promiſes to me, your duty to your parents in ſome caſes: a church in which men pray to God, and to ſaints in the ſame

ſame form of words in which they pray to God, as you may ſee in the offices of ſaints, and particularly of our Lady: a church in which men are taught by moſt of the principal leaders to worſhip images with the ſame worſhip with which they worſhip God and Chriſt, or him or her whoſe image it is, and in which they uſually picture God, the Father, and the Holy Trinity, to the great diſhonour of that ſacred myſtery, againſt the doctrine and practice of the primitive church, againſt the expreſs doctrine of ſcripture, againſt the honour of a divine attribute; I mean, the immenſity and ſpirituality of the divine nature: you are gone to a church that pretends to be infallible, and yet is infinitely deceived in many particulars, and yet endures no contradiction, and is impatient her children ſhould enquire into any thing her prieſts obtrude: you are gone from receiving the whole ſacrament to receive it but half; from Chriſt's

inſtitution to a human invention, from ſcripture to uncertain traditions, and from ancient traditions to new pretences, from prayers which ye underſtood, to prayers which ye underſtand not, from confidence in God, to rely upon creatures, from entire dependence upon inward acts, to a dangerous temptation of reſting too much in outward miniſtries, in the external work of ſacraments and of ſacramentals: you are gone from a church whoſe worſhiping is ſimple, Chriſtian and Apoſtolical, to a church where men's conſciences are loaden with a burden of ceremonies, greater than that in the days of the Jewiſh religion (for the ceremonial of the church of Rome is a great book in folio) greater I ſay, than all the ceremonies contained in Leviticus, *&c.* you are gone from a church where you are exhorted to read the word of God, the holy ſcriptures from whence you found inſtruction, comfort, reproof, a treaſure of all excellencies, to a church

church that ſeals up that fountain from you, and gives you drink by drops out of ſuch ciſterns as they firſt make, and then ſtain, and then reach out : and if it be told you that ſome men abuſe the ſcripture, it is true; for if your prieſts had not abuſed ſcripture, they could not thus have abuſed you. But there is no neceſſity they ſhould, and you need not, unleſs you liſt; any more than you need to abuſe the ſacrament or decrees of the church, or the meſſages of your friend, or the letters you receive, or the laws of the land; all which are liable to be abuſed by evil perſons, but not by good people and modeſt underſtandings. It is now become a part of your religion to be ignorant, to walk in blindneſs, to believe the man that hears your confeſſions, to hear none but him, not to hear God ſpeaking but by him, and ſo you are liable to be abuſed by him, as he pleaſes, without remedy. You are gone from us, where you were only

taught to worſhip God through Jeſus Chriſt, and now you are taught to worſhip ſaints and angels with a worſhip at leaſt dangerous, and in ſome things proper to God; for your church worſhips the virgin Mary with burning incenſe and candles to her, and you give her preſents, which by the conſent of all nations uſed to be eſteemed a worſhip peculiar to God, and it is the ſame thing which was condemned for hereſy in the Collyridians, who offered a cake to the virgin Mary; a candle and a cake make no difference in the worſhip, and your joining God and the ſaints in your worſhip and devotions, is like the device of them that fought for King and Parliament, the latter deſtroys the former. I will trouble you with no more particulars, becauſe if theſe move you not to conſider better, nothing can. But yet, I have two things more to add of another nature, one of which at leaſt may prevail upon you, whom I ſuppoſe to have a tender and a religious conſcience.

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The firſt is, that all the points of difference between us and your church, are ſuch as do evidently ſerve the ends of covetouſneſs and ambition, of power and riches; and ſo ſtand vehemently ſuſpected of deſign, and art, rather than truth of the article, and deſigns upon heaven. I inſtance in the Pope's power over princes and all the world, his power of diſpenſation, the exemption of the clergy from juriſdiction of princes, the doctrine of purgatory and indulgences which was once made means to raiſe a portion for a lady, the niece of Pope Leo the tenth; the prieſts power advanced beyond authority of any warrant from ſcripture, a doctrine apt to bring abſolute obedience to the papacy: but becauſe this is poſſibly too nice for you to ſuſpect or conſider, that which I am ſure ought to move you is this.

That you are gone to a religion, in which, (though through God's grace prevailing over

over the follies of men, there are, I hope and charitably ſuppoſe, many pious men that love God, and live good lives, yet) there are very many doctrines taught by your men, which are very ill friends to a good life. I inſtance in your indulgences and pardons, in which vicious men put a great confidence, and rely greatly upon them. The doctrine of purgatory which gives countenance to a ſort of chriſtians, who live half to God and half to the world, and for them this doctrine hath found out a way that they may go to hell and to heaven too. The doctrine that the prieſts abſolution can turn a trifling repentance into a perfect and a good, and that ſuddenly too, and at any time, even on our death-bed, or the minute before our death, is a dangerous heap of falſhoods, and gives licence to wicked people, and teaches men to reconcile a wicked debauched life, with the hopes of heaven. And then for penances and temporal

poral ſatisfaction, which might ſeem to be as a plank after the ſhipwreck of the duty of repentance, to keep men in awe, and to preſerve them from ſinking in an ocean of impiety, it comes to juſt nothing by your doctrine; for there are ſo many eaſy ways of indulgencies and getting pardons, ſo many confraternities, ſtations, privileged altars, little offices, agnus Dei's, amulets, hallowed devices, ſwords, roſes, hats, church-yards, and the fountain of theſe annexed indulgences, the pope himſelf, and his power of granting what, and when, and to whom he liſt; that he is a very unfortunate man that needs to ſmart with penances; and after all he may chuſe to ſuffer any at all, for he may pay them in purgatory if he pleaſe, and he may come out of purgatory upon reaſonable terms, in caſe he ſhould think it fit to go thither; ſo that all the whole duty of repentance ſeems to be deſtroyed with devices of men that ſeek power and

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gain, and find error and folly; inſomuch that if I had a mind to live an evil life, and yet hope for heaven laſt, I would be of your religion above any in the world.

But I forget I am writing a letter; I ſhall therefore deſire you to conſider upon the premiſes which is the ſafer way. For ſurely it is lawful for a man to ſerve God without images; but that to worſhip images is lawful, is not ſo ſure. It is lawful to pray to God alone, to confeſs him to be true, and every man a liar, to call no man maſter upon earth, but to rely upon God teaching us; but it is at leaſt hugely diſputable, and not at all certain, that any man, or ſociety of men, can be infallible; that we may put our truſt in ſaints, in certain extraordinary images, or burn incenſe and offer conſumptive oblations to the virgin Mary, to make vows to perſons, of whoſe ſtate, or place, or capacities, or condition we have no certain revelation; we are ſure

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we do well, when in the holy communion we worſhip God and Jeſus Chriſt our Saviour; but they who alſo worſhip what ſeems to be bread, are put to ſtrange ſhifts to make themſelves believe it to be lawful. It is certainly lawful to believe what we ſee and feel; but it is an unnatural thing upon pretence of faith to diſbelieve our eyes, when our ſenſe and our faith can better be reconciled, as it is in the queſtion of the real preſence, as it is taught by the church of England.

So that unleſs you mean to prefer a danger before ſafety, temptation to unholineſs before a ſevere and holy religion: unleſs you mean to loſe the benefit of your prayers by praying what you perceive not, and the benefit of the ſacrament, in great degrees, by falling from Chriſt's inſtitution, and taking half inſtead of all; unleſs you deſire to provoke God to jealouſy by images, and man to jealouſy in profeſſing a religion,

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in which you may, in many caſes, have leave to forfeit your faith and lawful truſt; unleſs you will ſtill continue to give ſcandal to thoſe good people, with whom you have lived in a common religion, and weaken the hearts of God's afflicted ones; unleſs you will chuſe a catechiſm without the ſecond commandment, and a faith that grows bigger or leſs as men pleaſe, and a hope that, in many degrees, relies on men and vain confidencies, and a charity that, damns all the world but yourſelves; unleſs you will do all this, that is, ſuffer an abuſe in your prayers, in the ſacrament, in the commandments, in faith, in hope, in charity, in the communion of ſaints, in your duty to your ſupreme, you muſt return to the boſom of your mother the church of England, from whence you have fallen, rather weakly than maliciouſly; and I doubt not but you will find the comfort of it all your life, and in the day of your death, and

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in the day of judgment. If you will not, yet I have freed mine own ſoul, and done an act of duty and charity, which at leaſt you are bound to take kindly, if you will not entertain it obediently.

Now let me add this, that although moſt of theſe objections are ſuch things, which are the open and avowed doctrines or practices of your church, and need not to be proved as being either notorious or confeſſed; yet if any of your guides ſhall ſeem to queſtion any thing of it, I will bind myſelf to verify it to a tittle, and in that too which I intend them, that is, ſo as to be an objection obliging you to return, under the pain of folly, or hereſy, or diſobedience; according to the ſubject matter, and though I have propounded theſe things now to your conſideration, yet, if it be deſired, I ſhall repreſent them to your eye, ſo that even yourſelf ſhall be able to give ſentence in the behalf of truth. In the mean time give me leave

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to tell you of how much folly you are guilty in being moved by ſuch mock arguments as your men uſe when they meet with women, and tender conſciences and weaker underſtandings.

The firſt is, where was your church before Luther? 'now if you had called upon them to ſpeak ſomething againſt your religion from ſcripture, or right reaſon, or univerſal tradition, you had been ſecure as a tortoiſe in her ſhell; a cart preſſed with ſheaves could not have oppreſſed your cauſe or perſon, though you had confeſſed you underſtood nothing of the myſteries of ſucceſſion, doctrinal or perſonal. For if we can make it appear that our religion was that which Chriſt and his Apoſtles taught, let the truth ſuffer what eclipſes or prejudices can be ſuppoſed, let it be hid like the holy fire in the captivity; yet what Chriſt and his Apoſtles taught us, is eternally true, and ſhall by ſome means or other be conveyed to us; even the

the enemies of truth have been conſervators of that truth by which we can confute their errors. But if you ſtill aſk where it was before Luther? I anſwer, it was there where it was after; even in the ſcriptures of the Old and New Teſtament; and I know no warrant for any other religion: and if you will expect I ſhould ſhew any ſociety of men who profeſſed all the doctrines which are now expreſſed in the confeſſion of the Church of England: I ſhall tell you it is unreaſonable, becauſe ſome of our truths are now brought into our public confeſſions, that they might be oppoſed againſt your errors, before the occaſion of which there was no need of any ſuch confeſſions, till you made many things neceſſary to be profeſſed, which are not lawful to be believed. For if we believe your ſuperinduced follies, we ſhall do unreaſonably, unconſcionably, and wickedly; but the queſtions themſelves are ſo uſeleſs, abſtracting

from the accidental neceſſity which your follies have brought upon us, that it had been happy if we had never heard of them, more than the ſaints and martyrs did in the firſt ages of the church. But becauſe your clergy have invaded the liberty of the church, and multiplyed the dangers of damnation, and pretend new neceſſities, and have introduced new articles, and affright the ſimple upon new pretenſions, and ſlight the very inſtitution and the commands of Chriſt and of the Apoſtles, and invent new ſacramentals, conſtituting ceremonies of their own head, and promiſe grace along with the uſe of them, as if they were not miniſters but Lords of the ſpirit, and teach for doctrines the commandments of men, and make void the commandment of God by their tradition, and have made a ſtrange body of divinity: therefore it is neceſſary that we ſhould immure our faith by the refuſal of ſuch vain and

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ſuperſtitious dreams; but our faith was completed at firſt, it is no other than that which was delivered to the ſaints, and can be no more for ever.

So that it is a fooliſh demand to require that we ſhould ſhow before Luther a ſyſtem of articles declaring our ſenſe in theſe queſtions: it was long before they were queſtions at all, and when they were made queſtions, they remained ſo a long time; and when by their ſeveral pieces they were determined, this part of the church was oppreſſed with a violent power; and when God gave opportunity, then the yoke was broken; and this is the whole progreſs of this affair. But if you will ſtill inſiſt upon it, then let the matter be put into equal balances, and let them ſhew any church whoſe confeſſion of faith was ſuch as was obtruded upon you at Trent; and if your religion be Pius Quartus his creed at Trent, then we alſo have a queſ-

tion to aſk, and that is, where was your religion before Trent?

The council of Trent determined, that the ſouls departed before the day of judgment enjoy the beatifical viſion. It is certain this article could not be ſhown in the confeſſion of any of the ancient churches; for moſt of the Fathers were of another opinion. But that which is the greateſt offence of Chriſtendom, is not only that theſe doctrines which we ſay are falſe were yet affirmed, but that thoſe things which the church of God did always reject, or held as uncertain, ſhould be made articles of faith, and ſo become parts of your religion; and of theſe it is that I again aſk the queſtion which none of your ſide ſhall ever be able to anſwer for you: where was your religion before Trent?

I could inſtance in many particulars, but I ſhall name one to you, which, becauſe the thing of itſelf is of no great conſequence,

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it will appear the more unreaſonable and intolerable that your church ſhould adopt it into the things of neceſſary belief, eſpecially ſince it was only a matter of fact, and they took the falſe part too. For in the 21 ſeſſ. chap. 4, it is affirmed, that although the Holy Fathers did give the ſacrament of the euchariſt to infants, yet they did it without any neceſſity of ſalvation, that is, they did not believe it neceſſary to their ſalvation: which is notoriouſly falſe, and the contrary is marked out with the black lead of every man almoſt that reads their works: and yet your council ſays this is *ſine controverſiâ credendum*, to be believed without all controverſy; and all Chriſtians forbidden to believe or teach otherwiſe: ſo that here it is made an article of faith amongſt you, that a man ſhall neither believe his reaſon nor his eyes: and who can ſhew any confeſſion of faith in which all the Trent doctrine was profeſſed and enjoined under pain of damnation?

And before the council of Conſtance, the doctrine touching the Pope's power was ſo new, ſo deſcribed, that as Gerſon ſays, he hardly ſhould have eſcaped the note of hereſy, that would have ſaid ſo much as was there defined: ſo that in that article which now makes a great part of your belief, where was your religion before the council of Conſtance? and it is notorious that your council of Conſtance determined the doctrine of the half communion with a *non obſtante* to Chriſt's inſtitution, that is, with a defiance to it, or a noted, obſerved neglect of it, and with a profeſſion it was otherwiſe in the primitive church. Where then was your religion before John Hus and Hierom of Prague's time, againſt whom that council was convened? but by this inſtance it appears moſt certainly that your church cannot ſhow her confeſſions immediately after Chriſt, and therefore if we could not ſhow ours immediately before Luther,

Luther, it were not half ſo much; for ſince you receded from Chriſt's doctrine, we might well recede from yours; and it matters not who, or how many, or how long they profeſſed your doctrine, if neither Chriſt nor his Apoſtles did teach it: ſo that if theſe articles conſtitute your church, your church was inviſible at the firſt; and if ours was inviſible afterwards, it matters not; for yours was inviſible in the days of light, and ours was inviſible in the days of darkneſs. For our church was always viſible in the reflections of ſcripture, and he that had his eyes of faith and reaſon might eaſily have ſeen theſe truths all the way which conſtitutes our church. But I add yet farther, that our church before Luther, was there where your church was, in the ſame place and in the ſame perſons: for divers of the errors which have been amongſt us reformed, were not the conſtituent articles of your church before Luther's time, for

before the laſt councils of your church, a man might have been of your communion upon eaſier terms; and indulgences were indeed a practice, but no article of faith before your men made it ſo, and that very lately, and ſo were many other things beſides. So that although your men cozen the credulous and the ſimple by calling yours the old religion, yet the difference is vaſt between truth and their affirmitive, even as much as between old errors and new articles. For although ignorance and ſuperſtition had prepared the ore, yet the councils of Conſtance and Baſil, and Trent eſpecially, were the forges and the mint.

Laſtly, if your men had not by all the vile and violent arts of the world ſtopped the mouths of diſſenters, the queſtion would quickly have been anſwered, or our articles would have been ſo confeſſed, ſo owned, and ſo public that the queſtion could never have been aſked, but in deſpite of all oppoſition,

ſition, there were great numbers of profeſſors who did proteſt and profeſs and practice our doctrines contrary to your articles; as it is demonſtrated by the divines of Germany in Illyricus his *catalogus teſtium veritatis*, and in Biſhop Morton's appeal.

But with your next objection you are better pleaſed, and your men make moſt noiſe with it. For you pretend that by our confeſſion ſalvation may be had in your church, but your men deny it to us: and therefore by the confeſſion of both ſides you may be ſafe, and there is no queſtion concerning you, but of us there is great queſtion, for none but ourſelves ſay that we can be ſaved.

I anſwer, 1ſt, That ſalvation may be had in your church, is it ever the truer becauſe we ſay it? if it be not, it can have no confidence to you, for the propoſition gets no ſtrength by our affirmative. But if it be, then our authority is good or elſe

our

our reaſon; and if either be, then we have more reaſon to be believed ſpeaking of ourſelves; becauſe we are concerned to ſee that ourſelves may be in a ſtate of hope; and therefore we would not venture on this ſide if we had not greater reaſon to believe well of ourſelves than of you. And therefore believe us when it is more likely that we have greater reaſon, becauſe we have greater concernments, and therefore greater conſiderations.

2d, As much charity as your men pretend us to ſpeak of you, yet it is a clear caſe, our hope of your ſalvation is ſo little, that we dare not venture ourſelves on your ſide. The burgher of *Oldwater* being to paſs a river in his journey to *Daventry*, bad his man try the ford, telling him he hoped he ſhould not be drowned, for though he was afraid the river was too deep, yet he thought his horſe would carry him out, or at leaſt the boats would fetch him off. Such a con-

fidence

fidence we may have of you, but you will find that but little warranty, if you remember how great an intereſt it is that you venture.

3d, It would be remembered that though the beſt ground of your hope is not the goodneſs of your own faith, but the greatneſs of our charity; yet we that charitably hope well of you, have a fulneſs of aſſurance of the truth and certainty of our own way; and however you can pleaſe yourſelves with images of things, as having no firm footing for your trifling confidence, yet you can never with your tricks outface us of juſt and firm adherences; and if you were not empty of ſupports, and greedy of bulruſhes, ſnatching at any thing to ſupport your ſinking cauſe, you would with fear and trembling conſider the direct dangers which we demonſtrate to you to be in your religion, rather than flatter yourſelves with collateral, weak and deceitful hopes of accidental

accidental poſſibilities, that ſome of you may eſcape.

4th, If we be more charitable to you than you are to us, acknowledge in us the beauty and eſſential form of chriſtian religion, be ſure you love as well as make uſe of your charity. But if you make our charity an argument againſt us, remember that you render us evil in exchange for good; and let it be no brag to you that you have not that charity to us; for therefore the *Donatiſts* were condemned for heretics and ſchiſmatics, becauſe they damned all the world, and afforded no charity to any that was not of their communion.

5th, But that our charity may be ſuch indeed, that is, that it may do you a real benefit, and not turn into wormwood and coloquintida, I pray take notice in what ſenſe it is that we allow ſalvation may poſſibly be had in your church. We warrant it not to any, we only hope it for ſome; we

we allow it to them as to the *Sadduces* in the Law, and not to the Corinthians in the Goſpel who denied the reſurrection; that is, till they were ſufficiently inſtructed, and competently convinced, and had time and powers to outwear their prejudices and impreſſes of their education and long perſuaſion. But to them amongſt you who can and do conſider, and yet determine for error and intereſt, we have a greater charity, even ſo much as to labour and pray for their converſion, but not ſo much fondneſs as to flatter them into boldneſs and pertinacious adherences to matters of ſo great danger.

6th, But in all this affair, though your men are very bold with God and leap into his judgment ſeat before him, and give wild ſentences concerning the ſalvation of your own party, and the damnation of all that diſagree; yet that which is our charity to you is indeed the fear of God and the

reverence

reverence of his judgments. We do not ſay that all papiſts are certainly damned, we wiſh and deſire vehemently that none of you may periſh. But then this charity of judgment relates not to you; nor is deſired from any probability which we ſee in your doctrines that differ from ours. But becauſe we know not what rate and value God puts upon the article, it concerns neither us nor you to ſay, this or that man ſhall be damned for his opinion. For beſides that this is a bold intruſion into that ſecret of God which ſhall not be opened till the day of judgment; and beſides that we know not what allays and abatements are to be made by the good meaning and the ignorance of the man; all that can concern us is to tell you that you are in error, that you depart from ſcripture, that you exerciſe tyranny over ſouls, that you leave the divine inſtitution, prevaricate God's commandment, that you divide the church without

without truth and without neceſſity, that you tie men to believe things under pain of damnation which cannot be made very probable, much leſs certain; and therefore that you ſin againſt God and are in danger of his eternal diſpleaſure. But in giving the final ſentence as we have no more to do than your men have, yet ſo we refuſe to follow your evil example; and we follow the glorious precedent of our bleſſed Lord, who decreed and declared againſt the crime, but not againſt the criminal before the day. He that does this or that, is in danger of the council, or in danger of judgment, or liable and obnoxious to the danger of hell fire. So we ſay of your greateſt errors, they put you in the danger of periſhing; but that you ſhall or ſhall not periſh, we leave it to your judge; and if you call this charity, it is well, I am ſure it is piety and the fear of God.

7th,

7th, Whether you may be ſaved, or whether you ſhall be damned for your errors, does neither depend upon our affirmative nor your negative, but according to the rate and value which God ſets upon things. Whatever we talk, things are as they are, not as we diſpute, or grant, or hope; and therefore it will be well if your men would leave abuſing you and themſelves with theſe little arts of indirect ſupport. For many men that are warranted, yet do eternally periſh; and you in your church damn millions who I doubt not ſhall reign with *Jeſus* eternally in the heavens.

8th, I wiſh you would conſider, that if any of our men ſay ſalvation may be had in your church, it is not for the goodneſs of your new propoſitions, but only becauſe you do keep ſo much of that which is our religion, that upon the confidence of that we hope well concerning you. And we do not hope any thing at all that is good of you

you or your religion, as it diſtinguiſhes from us and ours. We hope that the good which you have common with us may obtain pardon directly or indirectly, or may be an antidote of the venom, and an amulet againſt the danger of your very great errors: ſo that if you can derive any confidence from our conceſſion, you muſt remember where it takes root; not upon any thing of yours, but wholly upon the excellency of ours. You are not at all ſafe, or warranted for being *papiſts*; but we hope well of ſome of you, for having ſo much of the *proteſtant*: and if that will do you any good, proceed in it, and follow it whitherſoever it leads.

9th, The ſafety that you dream of, which we ſay to be on your ſide, is nothing of allowance or warranty, but a hope that is collateral, indirect and relative. We do not ſay any thing whereby you can conclude yours to be ſafer than ours; for it is not

ſafe at all but extremely dangerous. We affirm thoſe errors in themſelves to be damnable, ſome to contain in them impiety, ſome to have ſacrilege, ſome idolatry, ſome ſuperſtition, ſome practices to be conjuring and charming, and very little like to wichcraft, as in your hallowing of water, baptizing bells, and exorciſing demoniacs; and what ſafety there can be in theſe, or what you can fancy we ſhould allow to you, I ſuppoſe you need not boaſt of. Now becauſe we hope ſome are ſaved amongſt you, you muſt not conclude yours to be ſafe; for our hope relies on this: there are many of your propoſitions in which we differ from you, that thouſands amongſt you underſtand and know nothing of; it is to them as if they were not; it is to them now as it was before the council, they hear not of it. And though your prieſts have taken a courſe that the moſt ignorant do practice ſome of your abominations moſt groſsly,

groſsly, yet we hope this will not be laid upon them who (as St. Auſtin's expreſſion is) *cauta ſollicitudine quærunt veritatem, corrigi parati cum invenerit*; do according as they are able warily and diligently ſeek for truth, and are ready to follow it when they find it; men who live good lives and repent of all their evils known and unknown. Now if we are not deceived in our hopes, theſe men ſhall rejoice in the eternal goodneſs of God, which prevails over the malice of them that miſguide you. But if we be deceived in our hopes of you, your guides have abuſed you, and the blind leaders of the blind will fall together. For,

10th, If you will have the ſecret of this whole affair, this it is. The hopes we have of any of you, (as it is known) principally relies upon the hopes of your repentance. Now we ſay that a man may repent of an error which he knows not of; as he that prays heartily for the pardon of all his ſins

and errors known and unknown; by his general repentance may obtain many degrees and inſtances of mercy. Now thus much alſo your men allow to us; theſe who live well, and die in a true, though but general, repentance of their ſins and errors, even amongſt us, your beſt and wiſeſt men pronounce to be in a ſavable condition. Here then we are eq..al, and we are as ſafe by your confeſſion as you are by ours. But becauſe there are ſome bigots of your faction, fierce and fiery, who ſay that a general repentance will not ſerve our turns, but it muſt be a particular renunciation of Proteſtancy; theſe men deny not only to us, but to themſelves too, all that comfort which they derive from our conceſſion, and indeed which they can hope for from the mercy of God. For be you ſure we think as ill of your errors as you can ſuppoſe of our articles; and therefore if for errors (be they on which ſide it chances) a general repentance

repentance will not ſerve the turn without an actual dereliction, then flatter not yourſelves by any thing of our kindneſs to your party; for you muſt have a particular, if a general be not ſufficient. But if it be ſufficient for you, it is ſo for us, in caſe we be in error as your men ſuppoſe us; but if it will not ſuffice us for remedy to thoſe errors you charge us with, neither will it ſuffice you; for the caſe muſt needs be equal as to the value of repentance and malignity of the error: and therefore theſe men condemn themſelves, and will not allow us to hope well of them: but if they will allow us to hope, it muſt be by affirming the value of a general repentance: and if they allow that, they muſt hope as well of ours as we of theirs: but if they deny it to us, they deny it to themſelves; and then they can no more brag of any thing of our conceſſion. This only I add to this conſideration, that your men do not,

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cannot charge upon us any doctrine that is in its matter and effect impious; there is nothing positive in our doctrine but is either true or innocent; but we are accused for denying your superstructures, ours therefore (if we be deceived) is but like a sin of omission; yours are sins of commission in case you are in the wrong (as we believe you to be) and therefore you must needs be in the greater danger than we can be supposed, by how much sins of omission are less than sins of commission.

11th, Your very way of arguing from our charity is a very fallacy, and a trick that must needs deceive you if you rely on it. For whereas your men argue thus; the Protestants say, we Papists may be saved, and so say we too; but we papists say that you protestants cannot, therefore it is safest to be a papist. Consider that of this argument, if it shall be accepted, any bold heretic can make use, against any modest christan of a true

true perſuaſion. For, if he can but outface the modeſty of the good man, and tell him he ſhall be damned, unleſs that modeſt man ſay as much of him, you ſee impudence ſhall get the better of the day. But it is thus in every error. Fifteen biſhops of *Jeruſalem* in immediate ſucceſſion were circumciſed, believing it to be neceſſary ſo to be: with theſe other chriſtian churches who were of the uncircumciſion did communicate. Suppoſe now that theſe biſhops had not only thought it neceſſary for themſelves, but for others too; this argument you ſee was ready: you of the uncircumciſion who do communicate with us, think that we may be ſaved though we are circumciſed; but we do not think that you who are not circumciſed can be ſaved, therefore it is the ſafeſt way to be circumciſed. I ſuppoſe you would not have thought their argument good, neither would you have had your children circumciſed. But this argument

may ſerve the Preſbyterians as well as the Papiſts. We are indeed very kind to them in our ſentences concerning their ſalvation; and they are many of them as unkind to us. If they ſhould argue ſo as you do, and ſay, you epiſcopal men think we preſbyterians, though in errors can be ſaved, and we ſay ſo too; but we think you epiſcopal men are enemies of the kingdom of Jeſus Chriſt, and therefore we think you in a damnable condition; therefore it is ſafer to be a preſbyterian: I know not what your men would think of the argument in their hands, I am ſure we had reaſon to complain that we are very ill uſed on both hands, for no other cauſe but becauſe we are charitable. But it is not our caſe alone; but the old catholics were uſed juſt ſo by the *Donatiſts* in this very argument, as we are uſed by your men. The *Donatiſts* were ſo fierce againſt the catholics, that they would rebaptize all them who came to their churches from

from the other: but the catholics, as knowing the *Donatiſts* did give right baptiſm, admitted their converts to repentance, but did not rebaptize them. Upon this ſcore the *Donatiſts* triumphed, ſaying, you catholics confeſs our baptiſm to be good, and ſo ſay we, but we *Donatiſts* deny your baptiſm to be good; therefore it is ſafer to be of our ſide than yours. Now what ſhould the catholics ſay or do? ſhould they lie for God and for religion, and to ſerve the ends of truth, ſay the *Donatiſts* baptiſm was not good? that they ought not. Should they damn all the *Donatiſts* and make the rent wider? it was too great already. What then? they were quiet, and knew that the *Donatiſts* ſought advantages by their own fierceneſs, and trampled upon the others charity; but ſo they hardned themſelves in error, and became evil becauſe the others were good.

I ſhall

I ſhall trouble you no further now, but deſire you to conſider of theſe things with as much caution, as they were written with charity.

Till I hear from you, I ſhall pray to God to open your heart and your underſtanding, that you may return from whence you are fallen, and repent, and do your firſt works. Which that you may do, is the hearty deſire of

Yours, *&c.*

LETTER II.

To a Person newly converted to the Church of England.

Madam,

I BLESS God I am ſafely arrived where I deſired to be after my unwilling departure from the place of your abode and danger: and now becauſe I can have no other expreſ-

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ſion of my tenderneſs, I account that I have a treble obligation to ſignify it by my care of your biggeſt and eternal intereſt, and becauſe it hath pleaſed God to make me an inſtrument of making you to underſtand in ſome fair meaſure the excellencies of a true and holy religion, and that I have pointed out ſuch follies and errors in the *Roman* church, at which your underſtanding being forward and pregnant, did of itſelf ſtart as at imperfect ill-looking propoſitions, give me leave to do that now which is the purpoſe of my charity, that is, teach you to turn this to the advantage of a holy life, that you may not only be changed but converted. For the church of *England*, whither you are now come, is not in condition to boaſt herſelf in the reputation of changing the opinion of a ſingle perſon, though never ſo excellent; ſhe hath no temporal ends to ſerve which muſt ſtand upon fame and noiſes; all that ſhe can deſign is, to ſerve God, to advance the honour

of

of the Lord, and the good of ſouls, and to rejoice in the croſs of Chriſt.

1. Therefore I deſire you to remember that as now you are taught to pray both publicly and privately, in a language underſtood, ſo it is intended your affections ſhould be forward, in proportion to the advantages which your prayer hath in the underſtanding part. For though you have been often told and have heard, that ignorance is the mother of devotion; you will find that the propoſition is unnatural and againſt common ſenſe and experience, becauſe it is impoſſible to deſire that of which we know nothing, unleſs the deſire itſelf be fantaſtical and illuſive: it is neceſſary that in the ſame proportion in which we underſtand any good thing, in the ſame we ſhall alſo deſire it; and the more particular and minute your notices are, the more paſſionate and material alſo your affections will be towards it: and if they be good things, for which we are taught to pray, the

the more you know them, the more reaſon you have to love them. It is monſtrous to think that devotion, that is, paſſionate deſires of religious things, and the earneſt proſecutions of them, ſhould be produced by any thing of ignorance or leſs perfect notices in any ſenſe. Since therefore you are taught to pray, ſo that your underſtanding is the precentor or maſter of the quire, and you know what you ſay, your deſires are made humane, religious, expreſs, material, (for theſe are the advantages of prayers and liturgies well underſtood) be pleaſed alſo to remember, that now if you be not alſo paſſionate and devout for the things you mention, you will want the ſpirit of prayer, and be more inexcuſable than before. In many of your prayers before (eſpecially the public) you heard a voice, but ſaw and perceived nothing of the ſenſe, and what you underſtood of it was like the man in the goſpel that was half blind, he ſaw men

walking

walking like trees, and ſo you poſſibly might perceive the meaning of it in general. You knew when they came to the epiſtle, when to the goſpel, when the *introit*, when the *pax*, when any other of the more general periods were; but you could have nothing of the ſpirit of prayer, that is, nothing of the devotion and the holy affections to the particular excellencies which could or ought there to have been repreſented: but now you are taught how you may be really devout, it is made facile and eaſy, and there can want nothing but your conſent and obſervation.

2. Whereas now you are taken off from all human confidences, from relying wholly and almoſt ultimately upon the prieſt's power and external act, from reckoning prayers by numbers, from forms and outſides; you are not to think that the prieſt's power is leſs, that the ſacraments are not effective, that your prayers may not be repeated frequently: but

but you are to remember that all outward things and ceremonies, all ſacraments and inſtitutions work their effect in the virtue of Chriſt by ſome moral inſtrument. The prieſts in the church of England can abſolve you as much as the Roman prieſts could fairly pretend, but then we teach that you muſt firſt be a penitent and a returning perſon, and our abſolution does but manifeſt the work of God, and comfort and inſtruct your conſcience, direct and manage it. You ſhall be abſolved here, but not unleſs you live an holy life; ſo that in this you will find no change but to the advantage of a ſtrict life; we will not flatter you and cozen your dear ſoul by pretended miniſteries, but we ſo order our diſcourſes and directions, that all our miniſtrations may be really effective. And when you receive the holy ſacrament of the euchariſt, or the Lord's ſupper, it does more good here than they do there; becauſe if they conſecrate rightly,

yet

yet they do not communicate you fully; and if they offer the whole repreſentative ſacrifice, yet they do not give you the whole ſacrament; only we enjoin that you come with ſo much holineſs, that the grace of God in your heart may be the principle, and the ſacrament in our hands may be the miniſtring and aſſiſting part. We do not promiſe great effects from eaſy trifling diſpoſitions, becauſe we would not deceive but really procure to you great effects; and therefore you are now to come to our offices with the ſame expectations as before, of pardon, of grace, of ſanctification; but you muſt do ſomething more of the work yourſelf, that we may not do leſs in effect than you have in your expectation; we will not, to advance the reputation of our power, deceive you into a leſs bleſſing.

3. Be careful that you do not flatter yourſelf, that in our communion you may have more eaſe and liberty of life: for though

though I know your pious ſoul deſires paſſionately to pleaſe God and to live religiouſly, yet I ought to be careful to prevent a temptation, leaſt it at any time ſhould diſcompoſe your ſeverity: therefore as to confeſſion to a prieſt (which how it is uſually practiſed among the Roman party, yourſelf can very well account, and you have complained ſadly, that it is made an ordinary act, eaſy and tranſient, ſometime matter of temptation, oftentimes impertinent, but) ſuppoſe it free from ſuch ſcandal to which ſome men's folly did betray it, yet the ſame ſeverity you'll find among us, for though we will not tell a lye to help a ſinner, and ſay that is neceſſary which is only appointed to make men do themſelves good; yet we adviſe and commend it, and do all the work of ſouls to all thoſe people that will be ſaved by all means, to devout perſons, that make religion the buſineſs of their lives; and they that do not ſo in the

churches of the Roman communion, as they find but little advantage, by periodical confeſſions, ſo they feel but little awfulneſs and ſeverity by the injunction. You muſt confeſs to God all your ſecret actions, you muſt adviſe with a holy man in all the affairs of your ſoul, you will be but an ill friend to yourſelf if you conceal from him the ſtate of your ſpititual affairs. We deſire not to hear the circumſtance of every ſin, but when matter of juſtice is concerned, or the nature of the ſin is changed, that is, when it ought to be made a queſtion; and you will find that though the church of England gives you much liberty from the bondage of innumerable ceremonies and human devices, yet in the matter of holineſs you will be tyed to very great ſervice, but ſuch a ſervice as is perfect freedom, that is, the ſervice of God and the love of the Holy Jeſus, and a very ſtrict religious life: for we do not promiſe Heaven,

but

but upon the ſame terms it is promiſed us, that is, *repentance towards God, and faith in our Lord Jeſus Chriſt:* and as in faith we make no more to be neceſſary than what is made ſo in Holy Scripture, ſo in the matter of repentance we give you no eaſy devices, and ſuffer no leſſening definitions of it, but oblige you to that ſtrictneſs which is the condition of being ſaved, and ſo expreſſed to be by the infallible word of God; but ſuch as in the church of Rome they do not ſo much ſtand upon.

Madam, I am weary of my journey, and although I did propoſe to have ſpoken many things more, yet I deſire that my not doing it may be laid upon the account of my wearineſs; all that I ſhall add to the main buſineſs is this.

4. Read the Scripture diligently, and with an humble ſpirit, and in it obſerve what is plain, and believe and live accordingly. Trouble not yourſelf with what

is difficult, for in that your duty is not deſcribed.

5. Pray frequently and effectually; I had rather your prayers ſhould be often than long. It was well ſaid of *Petrarch*, *Magno verborum fræno uti decet cum ſuperiore colloquentem.* When you ſpeak to your ſuperior, you ought to have a bridle upon your tongue, much more when you ſpeak to God. I ſpeak of what is decent in reſpect of ourſelves and our infinite diſtances from God: but if love makes you ſpeak, ſpeak on, ſo ſhall your prayers be full of charity and devotion, *Nullus eſt amore ſuperior, ille te coget ad veniam, qui me ad multiloquium*; love makes God to be our friend, and our approaches more united and acceptable; and therefore you may ſay to God, the ſame love which made me ſpeak, will alſo move thee to hear and pardon, love and devotion may enlarge your Litanies, but nothing elſe can, unleſs authority does interpoſe.

6. Be

6. Be curious not to communicate but with the true ſons of the Church of England, leſt if you follow them that were amongſt us, but are gone out from us (becauſe they were not of us) you be offended and tempted to impute their follies to the Church of England.

7. Trouble yourſelf with no controverſies willingly, but how you may beſt pleaſe God by a ſtrict and ſevere converſation.

8. If any Proteſtant live looſely, remember that he diſhonours an excellent religion, and that it may be no more laid upon the charge of our church, than the ill lives of moſt Chriſtians may upon the whole religion.

9, Let no man or woman affright you with declamations and ſcaring words of heretic, and damnation, and changeable; for theſe words may be ſpoken againſt them that return to light, as well as to thoſe

that go to darkneſs; and that which men of all ſides can ſay, it can be of effect to no ſide upon its own ſtrength or pretenſion.

A DISCOURSE

A

DISCOURSE

OF THE

NATURE, OFFICES AND MEASURES

OF

FRIENDSHIP,

WITH

RULES OF CONDUCTING IT.

In a Letter to the moſt Ingenuous and Excellent

Mrs. CATHERINE PHILIPS.

Madam,

THE wiſe *Ben Sirach* adviſed that we ſhould not conſult with a woman concerning her of whom ſhe is jealous, neither with a coward in matters of war, nor with a merchant concerning exchange; and ſome

other inſtances he gives of intereſted perſons, to whom he would not have us hearken in any matter of counſel. For wherever the intereſt is *ſecular* or *vicious*, there the biaſs is not on the ſide of *truth* or *reaſon*, becauſe *theſe* are ſeldom ſerved by profit and low regards. But to conſult with a friend in the matters of friendſhip, is like conſulting with a ſpiritual perſon in religion; they who underſtand the ſecrets of religion, or the interior beauties of friendſhip, are the fitteſt to give anſwers in all inquiries concerning the reſpective ſubjects; becauſe *reaſon* and *experience* are on the ſide of *intereſt*: and that which in friendſhip is moſt *pleaſing* and moſt *uſeful*, is alſo moſt *reaſonable* and moſt *true*: and a friend's faireſt intereſt is the beſt meaſure of the conducting friendſhips: and therefore you who are ſo eminent in friendſhips could alſo have given the beſt anſwer to your own inquiries, and you could have truſted your own reaſon, becauſe

becauſe it is not only greatly inſtructed by the direct notices of things, but alſo by great experience in the matter of which you now enquire.

But becauſe I will not uſe any thing that ſhall look like an excuſe, I will rather give you ſuch an account which you can eaſily reprove, than by declining your commands, ſeem more ſafe in my prudence, than open and communicative in my friendſhip to you.

You firſt enquire, *how far a dear and perfect friendſhip is authorized by the principles of Chriſtianity?*

To this I anſwer, that the word [*friendſhip*] in the ſenſe we commonly mean by it, is not ſo much as named in the New Teſtament; and our religion takes no notice of it. You think it ſtrange; but read on before you ſpend ſo much as the beginning of a paſſion or a wonder upon it. There is mention of [*friendſhip with the world,*] and

and it is ſaid to be *enmity with God*; but the word is no were elſe named, or to any other purpoſe in all the New Teſtament. It ſpeaks of friends often; but by *friends* are meant our acquaintance, or our kindred, the relatives of our family or our fortune, or our ſect; ſomething of ſociety, or ſomething of kindneſs there is in it; a tenderneſs of appellation and civility, a relation made by gifts, or by duty, by ſervices and ſubjection; and I think, I have reaſon to be confident, that the word *friend* (ſpeaking of human intercourſe) is no otherwiſe uſed in the goſpels or epiſtles, or acts of the Apoſtles: and the reaſon of it is, the word *friend* is of a large ſignification, and means all relations and ſocieties, and whatſoever is not *enemy*. But by *friendſhips*, I ſuppoſe you mean *the greateſt love, and the greateſt uſefullneſs, and the moſt open communication, and the nobleſt ſufferings, and the moſt exemplar faithfulneſs, and the ſevereſt truth*,

truth, and the heartieſt counſel, and the greateſt union of minds, of which brave men and women are capable. But then I muſt tell you that chriſtianity hath new chriſtened it, and calls this *charity.* The Chriſtian knows no enemy he hath; that is, though perſons may be injurious to him, and unworthy in themſelves, yet he knows none whom he is not firſt bound to forgive, which, is indeed to make them on his part to be no enemies, that is, to make that the word *enemy* ſhall not be perfectly contrary to *friend*, it ſhall not be a relative term and ſignify ſomething on each hand a *relative* and a *correlative*; and then he knows none whom he is not bound to love and pray for, to treat kindly and juſtly, liberally and obligingly. *Chriſtian charity is friendſhip to all the world*; and when friendſhips were the nobleſt things in the world, charity was little, like the ſun drawn in at a chink, or his beams drawn into the center

of

of a burning glaſs; but Chriſtian charity is friendſhip expanded like the face of the ſun when it mounts above the eaſtern hills: and I was ſtrangely pleaſed when I ſaw ſomething of this in *Cicero*; for I have been ſo puſhed at by herds and flocks of people that follow any body that whiſtles to them, or drives them to paſture, that I am grown afraid of any truth that ſeems chargeable with ſingularity: but therefore I ſay, glad I was when I ſaw *Lælius* in *Cicero* diſcourſe thus: *Amicitia ex infinitate generis humani quam conciliavit ipſa natura, contracta res eſt, et adducta in anguſtum; ut omnis charias aut inter duos, aut inter paucos jungeretur.* Nature hath made friendſhips and ſocieties, relations and endearments; and by ſomething or other we relate to all the world; there is enough in every man that is willing to make him become our friend: but when men contract friendſhips, they incloſe the commons; and what nature intended ſhould

be

be every man's, we make proper to two or three. Friendſhip is like rivers and the ſtrand of ſeas, and the air, common to all the world; but tyrants and evil cuſtoms, wars, and want of love have made them proper and peculiar. But when Chriſtianity came to renew our nature, and to reſtore our laws, and to increaſe her privileges, and to make her aptneſs to become religion, then it was declared that our friendſhips were to be as univerſal as our converſation; that is, *actual* to all with whom we converſe, and *potentially extended* unto thoſe with whom we did not. For he who was to treat his enemies with forgiveneſs and prayers, and love and beneficence, was indeed to have no enemies, and to have all friends.

So that to your queſtion, *how far a dear and perfect friendſhip is authorized by the principles of Chriſtianity?* the anſwer is ready and eaſy. It is warranted to extend to all

mankind;

mankind; and the more we love, the better we are; and the greater our friendſhips are, the dearer we are to God. Let them be as dear, and let them be as perfect, and let them be as many as you can, there is no danger in it; only where the reſtraint begins, there begins our imperfection. It is not ill that you entertain brave friendſhips and worthy ſocieties: if you could benefit all mankind: for I conceive that is the ſum of all friendſhip.

I confeſs this is not to be expected of us in this world; but as all our graces here are but imperfect, that is, at the beſt they are but tendencies to glory: ſo our friendſhips are imperfect too, and but beginnings of a celeſtial friendſhip, by which we ſhall love every one as much as they can be loved. But then ſo we muſt be here in *our proportion*; and indeed that is it that can make the difference; we muſt be friends to all, that is, apt to do good, loving them really,

really, and doing to them all the benefits that we can, and which they are capable of. The friendſhip is equal to all the world, and of itſelf hath no difference; but is differenced only by accidents, and by the capacity or incapacity of them that receive it. *Nature* and *religion* are the *bands* of friendſhips; *excellency* and *uſefulneſs* are its greateſt *endearments*; *ſociety* and *neighbourhood*, that is, the poſſibilities and the circumſtances of converſe are the *determinations* and *actualities* of it. Now when men are either unnatural or irreligious, they *will not* be friends; when they are neither excellent nor uſeful, *they are not worthy* to be friends; when they are ſtrangers or unknown, they *cannnot be friends* actually and practically; but yet, as any man hath any thing of the good, contrary to thoſe evils, ſo he can have and muſt have his ſhare of friendſhip. For thus the ſun is the eye of the world; and he is indifferent to

the *Negro* or the cold *Ruſſian*, to them that dwell under the Line, and them that ſtand near the Tropics, the ſcalded *Indian*, or the poor boy that ſhakes at the foot of the *Riphean* hills. But the fluxures of the heaven and the earth, the conveniency of abode, and the approaches to the north or ſouth reſpectively change emanations of his beams; not that they do not always paſs from him, but that they are not equally received below, but by periods and changes, by little inlets and reflections, they receive what they can. And ſome have only a dark day and a long night from him, ſnows and white cattle; a miſerable life, and a perpetual harveſt of catatarrhs and conſumptions; apoplexies and dead palſies. But ſome have ſplendid fires and aromatic ſpices, rich wines and well digeſted fruits, great wit and great courage; becauſe they dwell in his eye, and look in his face, and are the courtiers of the ſun, and wait upon him

in

in his chambers of the eaſt. Juſt ſo it is in friendſhips: ſome are worthy, and ſome are neceſſary; ſome dwell hard by and are fitted for converſe; nature joins ſome to us; and religion combines us with others; ſociety and accidents, parity of fortune, and equal diſpoſitions do actuate our friendſhips: which of themſelves and in their prime diſpoſition are prepared for all mankind according as any one can receive them. We ſee this beſt exemplified by two inſtances and expreſſions of friendſhips and charity, viz. alms and prayer: every one that needs relief is equally the object of our charity; but though to all mankind in equal needs we ought to be alike in charity: yet we ſignify this ſeverally and by limits, and by diſtinct meaſures: the poor man that is near me, he whom I meet, he whom I love, he whom I fancy, he who did me benefit, he who relates to my family, he rather than another; becauſe my expreſſions,

being finite and narrow, and cannot extend to all in equal ſignifications, muſt be appropriate to thoſe whoſe circumſtances beſt fit me: and yet even to all I give alms; to all the world that needs them: I pray for all mankind, I am grieved at every ſad ſtory I hear; I am troubled when I hear of a pretty bride murdered in her bride-chamber by an ambitious and enraged rival: I ſhed a tear when I am told that a brave king was miſunderſtood, then ſlandered, then impriſoned, and then put to death by evil men: and I can never read the ſtory of the *Pariſian* maſſacre, or the *Sicilian* veſpers, but my blood curdles, and I am diſordered by two or three affections. A good man is a friend to all the world; and he is not truly charitable that does not wiſh well, and do good to all mankind in what he can. But though we muſt pray for all men, yet we ſay ſpecial litanies for brave kings and holy prelates, and the wiſe guides

guides of ſouls, for our brethren and relations, our wives and children.

The effect of this conſideration is, that the univerſal friendſhip of which I ſpeak, muſt be *limited*, becauſe *we are ſo:* in thoſe things wherein we ſtand next to *immenſity* and *infinity*, as in good wiſhes and prayers, and a readineſs to benefit all mankind, in theſe our friendſhips muſt not be limited: but in other things which paſs under our hand and eye, our voices and our material exchanges; our hands can reach no further but to our arms end, and our voices can but ſound till the next air be quiet, and therefore they can have intercourſe but within the ſphere of their own activity; our needs and our converſations are ſerved by a few, and they cannot reach to all: where they can they muſt; but *where it is impoſſible, it cannot be neceſſary.* It muſt therefore follow, that our friendſhips to mankind may admit variety, as does our con-

verſation; and as by nature we are made *ſociable* to all, ſo we are *friendly*; but as all cannot actually be of our ſociety, ſo neither can all be admitted to a ſpecial actual friendſhip. Of *ſome intercourſes* all men are capable, but *not of all*; men can pray for one another, and abſtain from doing injuries to all the world, and be deſirous to do all mankind good, and love all men; now this friendſhip we muſt pay to all, becauſe we can; but if we can do no more to all, we muſt ſhew our readineſs to do more good to all, by actually doing more good to all them to whom we can.

To ſome we can, and therefore there are nearer friendſhips to ſome than to others, according as there are natural or civil nearneſſes, relations and ſocieties; and as I cannot expreſs my friendſhips to all in equal meaſures and ſignifications, that is, as I cannot do benefits to all alike, ſo neither am I tied to love all alike: for although there is much

reaſon

reaſon to love every man, yet there are more reaſons to love ſome than others; if I muſt love, becauſe there is reaſon I ſhould, then I muſt *love more*, where there is *more reaſon*: and where there is a ſpecial affection and a great readineſs to do good and to delight in certain perſons towards each other, there is that ſpecial charity and endearment which philoſophy calls *friendſhip*; but our religion calls *love* or *charity*. Now if the inquiry be concerning this ſpecial friendſhip, 1. *How it can be appropriate*, that is, who to be choſen to it: 2. *How far it may extend*, that is, with what expreſſion ſignified: 3. *How conducted*, the anſwers will depend upon ſuch conſiderations which will be neither uſeleſs nor unpleaſant.

1. There may be a ſpecial friendſhip contracted for any ſpecial excellency whatſoever; becauſe *friendſhips are nothing but love and ſociety mixed together*, that is, *a converſing with them whom we love*; now for whatſoever we can love any one, for

that we can be his friend; and ſince every excellency is a degree of amability, every ſuch worthineſs is a juſt and proper motive of friendſhip or living converſation. But yet in theſe things there is an order and proportion. Therefore,

2. *A good man* is the beſt friend, and therefore ſooneſt to be choſen, longer to be retained; and indeed never to be parted with, unleſs he ceaſe to be that for which he was choſen.

Τῶν δ' ἄλλων ἀρετὴ ποιεῦ φίλον ὁςὶς ἄριςος,
Μήποτε τον κακὸν ἄνδρα φίλον ποιεῖσθαι ἑταῖρον.

Where virtue dwells, there friendſhips make,
But evil neighbourhoods forſake.

But although *virtue* alone is the worthieſt cauſe of amability, and can weigh down any one conſideration; and therefore to a man that is virtuous every man ought to be a friend: yet I do not mean the ſevere and philoſophical excellencies of ſome moroſe perſons who are indeed wiſe unto themſelves,

themſelves, and exemplar to others. By *virtue* here I do not mean *juſtice* and *temperance*, *charity* and *devotion*; for theſe I am to love the man, but friendſhip is ſomething more than that: *friendſhip is the neareſt love and the neareſt ſociety of which the perſons are capable*; now *juſtice* is a good intercourſe for merchants, as all men are that buy and ſell; and *temperance* makes a man good company, and helps to make a wiſe man: but a perfect friendſhip requires ſomething elſe, theſe muſt be in him that is choſen to be my friend, but for theſe I do not make him my *privado*, that is, my ſpecial and peculiar friend: but if he be *a good man*, then he is properly fitted to be my correlative in the nobleſt combination. And for this we have the beſt warrant in the world, *for a juſt man ſcarcely will a man die*: the *Syriac* interpreter reads it, ὑπὲρ ἀδίκου *for an unjuſt man ſcarcely will a man die*, that is, a wicked man is at no hand fit to receive the expreſſion

of the greateſt friendſhip: but all the Greek copies that ever I ſaw, or read of, read it as we do; *for a righteous man, or a juſt man*, that is, juſtice and rigeteouſneſs is not the neareſt indearment of friendſhip; but for *a good man* ſome will even dare to die, that is, for a man that is ſweetly diſpoſed, ready to do acts of goodneſs and to oblige others, to do things uſeful and profitable; for a loving man, a beneficent, bountiful man, one who delights in doing good to his friend, ſuch a man may have the higheſt friendſhip, he may have a friend that will die for him. And this is the meaning of *Lælius*, virtue may be deſpiſed, ſo may learning and nobility; *at una eſt amicitia in rebus humanis de cujus utilitate omnes conſentiunt:* only friendſhip is that thing which becauſe all know to be uſeful and profitable, no man can deſpiſe; that is χρηςότης or ἀλαθότης, goodneſs or beneficence makes friendſhips. For if he be a good man, he will love

where

where he is beloved; and that is the firſt tie of friendſhip.

Ἀλλήλυς ἐφίλησαν ἴσῳ ζυγῷ.

That was the commendation of the brayeſt friendſhip in Theocritus.

They loved each other with a love,
That did in all things equal prove.

Ἦ ρα τοτ' ἦσαν
Χρυσεῖοι πάλαι ἄνδρες ὁκ' ἀντιφίλησ' ὁ φιληθείς.

The World was under Saturn's reign,
When he that lov'd was lov'd again.

For it is impoſſible this nearneſs of friendſhip can be where there is not mutual love; but this is ſecured if I chooſe a good man; for he that is apt enough to begin alone, will never be behind in the relation and correſpondency; and therefore I like the Gentiles litany well,

Ζεύς μοι των τε φίλων δοίη τισίν οὔ με φιλεῦσι.
Ὄλβιοι οἱ φιλέοντες, ἐπὴν ἴσον ἀντεραῶνται.

Let God give friends to me for my reward,
Who ſhall my love with equal love regard;

Happy

Happy are they, who when they give their heart,
Find ſuch as in exchange their own impart.

But there is more in it than this felicity amounts to; for χρησος ἀνὴρ, *the good man*, is a profitable, uſeful perſon, and that is the band of an effective friendſhip: for I do not think that friendſhips are metaphyſical nothings, created for contemplation, or that men or women ſhould ſtare upon each other's faces, and make dialogues of news and prettineſſes, and look babies in one another's eyes. Friendſhip is the allay of our ſorrows, the eaſe of our paſſions, the diſcharge of our oppreſſions, the ſanctuary of our calamities, the counſellor of our doubts, the charity of our minds, the emiſſion of our thoughts, the exerciſe and improvement of what we meditate. And, although I love my friend becauſe he is worthy, yet he is not worthy if he can do no good: I do not ſpeak of accidental hindrances and misfortunes, by which the braveſt man may become unable to help his

his child; but of the natural and artificial capacities of the man. He only is fit to be choſen for a friend, who can do thoſe offices for which friendſhip is excellent: for (miſtake not) no man can be loved for himſelf; our perfections in this world cannot reach ſo high; it is well if we would love God at that rate; and I very much fear, that if God did us no good, we might admire his beauties, but we ſhould have but a ſmall proportion of love towards him; and therefore it is, that God, to endear *the obedience*, that is, *the love* of his ſervants, ſignifies what benefits he gives us, what great good things he does for us. *I am the Lord God that brought thee out of the land of Egypt*, and *does Job ſerve God for nought?* and *he that comes to God muſt believe that he is, and that he is a rewarder*: all his other greatneſſes are objects of fear and wonder; it is his goodneſs that makes him lovely, and ſo it is in friendſhips. He only is fit to be choſen for a friend, who can give counſel,

or

or defend my cauſe, or guide me right, or relieve my need, or can and will, when I need it, do me good: only this I add; into the heaps of doing good, I will reckon (*loving me*;) it is a pleaſure to be beloved: but when his love ſignifies nothing, but kiſſing my cheek, or talking kindly, and can go no further, it is a proſtitution of the bravery of friendſhip to ſpend it upon impertinent people, who are (it may be) loads to their families, but can never eaſe my loads; but my friend is a worthy perſon when he can become to me inſtead of God, a guide or ſupport, an eye or a hand, a ſtaff or a rule.

There muſt be in friendſhip ſomething to diſtingniſh it from a companion, and a countryman, from a ſchool-fellow or a goſſip, from a ſweet-heart or a fellow traveller: friendſhip may look in at any one of theſe doors, but it ſtays not any where till it come to the beſt thing in the world; and, when we conſider that one man is not

not better than another, neither towards God nor towards man, but by doing better and braver things: we ſhall alſo ſee, that which is moſt beneficent is alſo moſt excellent; and therefore thoſe friendſhips muſt needs be moſt perfect, where the friends can be moſt uſeful. For men cannot be uſeful but by worthineſſes in the ſeveral inſtances: a fool cannot be relied upon for council; nor a vicious perſon for the advantages of virtue, nor a beggar for relief, nor a ſtranger for conduct, nor a tatler to keep a ſecret, nor a pitileſs perſon truſted with my complaint, nor a covetous man with my child's fortune, nor a falſe perſon without a witneſs, nor a ſuſpicious perſon with a private deſign; nor him that I fear with the treaſures of my love: but he that is wiſe and virtuous, rich and at hand, cloſe and merciful, free of his money and tenacious of ſecrets, open and ingenuous, true and honeſt, is of himſelf an excellent man, and therefore fit to be loved; and he can

do good to me in all capacities where I can need him, and therefore is fit to be a friend. I confeſs we are forced in our friendſhips to abate ſome of theſe ingredients: but full meaſures of friendſhip would have full meaſures of worthineſs; and according as any defect is in the foundation, in the relation alſo there may be imperfection: and indeed I ſhall not blame the friendſhip ſo it be worthy, though it be not perfect; not only becauſe friendſhip is charity, which cannot be perfect here, but becauſe there is not in the world a perfect cauſe of perfect friendſhip.

If you can ſuſpect that this diſcourſe can ſuppoſe friendſhip to be mercenary, and to be defective in the greateſt worthineſs of it, which is to love our friend for our friend's ſake. I ſhall eaſily be able to defend myſelf; becauſe I ſpeak of the election and reaſons of chooſing friends: after he is choſen do as nobly as you talk, and love as purely as you dream, and let your converſation

ſation be as metaphyſical as your diſcourſe, and proceed in this method, till you be confuted by experience; yet till then, the caſe is otherwiſe when we ſpeak of chooſing one to be my friend: he is not my friend till I have choſen him or loved him: and if any man enquires whom he ſhall chooſe, or whom he ſhall love, I ſuppoſe it ought not to be anſwered, that we ſhould love him who hath leaſt amability, that we ſhould chooſe him who hath leaſt reaſon to be choſen. But if it be anſwered, he is to be choſen to be my friend who is moſt worthy in himſelf, not he that can do moſt good to me: I ſay here is a diſtinction but no difference; for he is moſt worthy in himſelf who can do moſt good, and if he can love me too, that is, if he will do me all the good he can, or that I need, then he is my friend and he deſerves it. And it is impoſſible from a friend to ſeperate a will to do me good: and therefore I do not chooſe well, if I chooſe one that hath not power:

for

for if it may consist with the nobleness of friendship to desire that my friend be ready to do me benefit or support, it is not sense to say, it is ignoble to desire he should really do it when I need; and if it were not for pleasure or profit, we might as well be without a friend as have him.

Among all the pleasures and profits, the *sensual pleasure*, and the *matter of money* are the lowest and the least; and therefore although they may sometimes be used in friendship, and so not wholly excluded from the consideration of him that is to choose, yet of all things they are to be the least regarded.

Ἐν τοῖς δὲ δεινοῖς, χρημάτων κρείττων φίλος.

When fortune frowns upon a man,
A friend does more than money can.

For there are besides these, many profits and many pleasures; and because these only are sordid, all the other are noble and fair, and the expectations of them no disparage-

ments

ments to the beſt friendſhip. For can any wiſe or good man be angry if I ſay, I chooſe this man to be my friend, becauſe he is able to give me council, to reſtrain my wanderings, to comfort me in my ſorrows; he is pleaſant to me in private, and uſeful in public; he will make my joys double, and divide my grief betwixt himſelf and me? for what elſe ſhould I chooſe? for being a fool and uſeleſs? for a pretty face or a ſmooth chin? I confeſs it is poſſible to be a friend to one that is ignorant, and pitiable, handſome and good for nothing, that eats well and drinks deep, but he cannot be a friend to me; and I love him with a fondneſs or a pity, but it cannot be a noble friendſhip.

οὐκ ἐᾶ πότων και τῆς καθ' ἡμέραν τρυφῆς
Ζητοῦμεν ᾧ πιςεύσωμεν τὰ τοῦ βίου
Πάτερ; οὐ περιττον οἷσι τ' ἐξευρηκέναι
'Αλαθὸν ἕκαςος ἐὰν ἔχῃ φίλου σκίαν, ſaid *Menander*.

By wine and mirth and every days delight
We chooſe our friends, to whom we think we might
Our ſouls entruſt; but fools are they that lend
Their boſom to the ſhadow of a friend.

Εἰδωλα καὶ μιμήματα φιλίας, *Plutarch* calls ſuch friendſhips, *the idols and images of friendſhip.* True and brave friendſhips are between worthy perſons; and there is in mankind no degree of worthineſs, but is alſo a degree of uſefulneſs, and by every thing by which a man is excellent, I may be profited: and becauſe thoſe are the braveſt friends which can beſt ſerve the ends of friendſhips, either we muſt ſuppoſe that friendſhips are not the greateſt comforts in the world, or elſe we muſt ſay, he chooſes his friend beſt, that chooſes ſuch an one by whom he can receive the greateſt comforts and aſſiſtances.

3. This being the meaſure of all friendſhips, they all partake of excellency, according

ding as they are fitted to this meaſure: a friend may be counſelled well enough, though his friend be not the wiſeſt man in the world; and he may be pleaſed in his ſociety, though he be not the beſt natured man in the world; but ſtill it muſt be that ſomething excellent is, or is apprehended, or elſe it can be no worthy friendſhip; becauſe the choice is imprudent and fooliſh. Chooſe for your friend him that is wiſe and good, ſecret and juſt, ingenuous and honeſt; and in thoſe things which have a latitude, uſe your own liberty; but in ſuch things which conſiſt in an indiviſible point, make no abatements; that is, you muſt not chooſe him to be your friend that is not honeſt and ſecret, juſt and true to a title; but if he be wiſe at all, and uſeful in any degree, and as good as you can have him, you need not be aſhamed to own your friendſhips, though ſometimes you may be aſhamed of ſome imperfections of your friend.

4. But if you yet enquire further, whether *fancy* may be an ingredient in your choice? I anſwer that fancy may miniſter to this, as to all other actions in which there is a liberty and variety; and we ſhall find that there may be peculiarities and little partialities, *a friendſhip improperly ſo called*, entering upon accounts of an innocent paſſion and a pleaſed fancy; even our bleſſed Saviour himſelf loved St. John and Lazarus by a ſpecial love, which was ſignified by ſpecial treatments; and of the young man that ſpake well and wiſely to Chriſt; it is affirmed, *Jeſus loved him*, that is, he fancied the man, and his ſoul had a certain cognation and ſimilitude of temper and inclination. For in all things were there is a latitude, every faculty will endeavour to be pleaſed, and ſometimes the meaneſt perſons in an houſe have a feſtival: even ſympathies and natural inclinations to ſome perſons, and a conformity of humours, and proportionable loves, and the beauty of the

the face, and a witty anſwer may firſt ſtrike the flint and kindle a ſpark, which if it falls upon tender and compliant natures may grow into a flame; but this will never be maintained at the rate of friendſhip, unleſs it be fed by pure materials, by *worthineſſes*, which are *the food of friendſhip*; where theſe are not, men and women may be pleaſed with one another's company, and lye under the ſame roof, and make themſelves companions of equal proſperities, and humour their friend; but if you call this friendſhip, you give a ſacred name to humour or fancy; for there is a *platonic* friendſhip as well as a *platonic* love; but they being but the images of more noble bodies, are but like tinſel dreſſings, which will ſhew bravely by candle light, and do excellently in a maſk, but are not fit for converſation and the material intercourſes of our life. Theſe are the prettineſſes of proſperity and good natured wit; but when we ſpeak of friendſhip, which is the beſt thing in the

world (for it is love and beneficence, it is charity that is fitted for ſociety) we cannot ſuppoſe a brave pile ſhould be built up with nothing; and they that build caſtles in the air, and look upon friendſhip, as upon a fine romance, a thing that pleaſes the fancy, but is good for nothing elſe, will do well when they are aſleep, or when they are come to *Elyſium*: and for ought I know, in the mean time may be as much in love with *Mandana* in the *Grand Cyrus*, as with the *Infanta of Spain*, or any of the moſt perfect beauties and real excellencies of the world: and by dreaming of perfect and abſtracted friendſhips, make them ſo immaterial that they periſh in the handling and become good for nothing.

But I know not whether I was going; I only meant to ſay that becauſe friendſhip is that by which the world is moſt bleſſed and receives moſt good, it ought to be choſen amongſt the worthieſt perſons, that is, amongſt thoſe that can do greateſt benefit

benefit to each other; and though in equal worthineſs I may chooſe by my eye, or ear, that is, into the conſideration of the eſſential, I may take in alſo the accidental and extrinſic worthineſſes; yet I ought to give every one their juſt value, when the internal beauties are equal, theſe ſhall help to weigh down the ſcale, and I will love a worthy friend that can delight me as well as profit me, rather than him who cannot delight me at all, and profit me *no more*; but yet I will not weigh the gayeſt flowers, or the wings of butterflies againſt wheat; but when I am to chooſe wheat, I may take that which looks the brighteſt. I had rather ſee Thyme and Roſes, Marjoram and July-flowers, that are fair and ſweet and medicinal, than the prettieſt Tulips, that are good for nothing: and my ſheep and kine are better ſervants than race horſes and grey-hounds: and I ſhall rather furniſh my ſtudy with *Plutarch* and *Cicero*, with *Livy* and *Polybius*, than with *Caſſandra* and *Ibrahim Baſſa*:

and if I do give an hour to theſe for divertiſement or pleaſure, yet I will dwell with them that can inſtruct me, and make me wiſe and eloquent, ſevere and uſeful to myſelf and others. I end this with the ſaying of *Lælius* in *Cicero: amicitia non debet conſequi utilitatem, ſed amicitiam utilitas.* When I chooſe my friend I will not ſtay till I have received a kindneſs; but I will chooſe ſuch an one that can do me many if I need them: but I mean ſuch kindneſſes which make me wiſer and better; that is, when I chooſe my friend, I will chooſe him that is the braveſt, the worthieſt and the moſt excellent perſon; and then your firſt queſtion is ſoon anſwered; to love ſuch a perſon and to contract ſuch friendſhips is juſt ſo authorized by the principles of Chriſtianity, as it is warranted to love wiſdom and virtue, goodneſs and beneficence, and all the impreſſes of God upon the ſpirits of brave men.

2. The

2. The next enquiry is, *how far it may extend?* that is, by what expreſſions it may be ſignified? I find that *David* and *Jonathan* loved at a ſtrange rate; they were both good men; though it happened that *Jonathan* was on the obliging ſide; but here the expreſſions were *Jonathan* watched for *David's* good; told him of his danger, and helped him to eſcape; took part with *David's* innocence againſt his father's malice and injuſtice: and beyond all this, did it to his own prejudice; and they two ſtood like two feet ſupporting one body; though *Jonathan* knew that *David* would prove like the foot of a wreſtler, and would ſupplant him, not by any unworthy or unfriendly action, but it was from God; and he gave him his hand to ſet him upon his own throne.

We find his parallels in the Gentile ſtories: young *Athenodorus* having divided the eſtate with his brother *Xenon*, divided it again when *Xenon* had ſpent his own ſhare; and

and *Lucullus* would not take the Conſulſhip till his younger brother had firſt enjoyed it for a year, but *Pollux* divided with *Caſtor* his immortality; and you know who offered himſelf to death, being a pledge for his friend, and his friend by performing his word reſcued him as bravely. And when we find in Scripture, that *for a good man ſome will even* dare *to die*; and that *Aquila* and *Priſcilla* laid their necks down for St. *Paul*; and the *Galatians* would have given him their very eyes, that is, every thing that was moſt dear to them, and ſome others were near unto death for his ſake, and that it is a precept of Chriſtian charity to lay down our lives for our brethren, that is, thoſe who were combined in a cauſe of religion, who were united with the ſame hopes, and imparted to each other ready aſſiſtances, and grew dear by common ſufferings, we need enquire no further for the expreſſions of friendſhip: *greater love than this hath no man, than that he lay down his life for his*

his friends; and this we are obliged to do in ſome caſes for all Chriſtans, and therefore we may do it for thoſe who are to us in this preſent and imperfect ſtate of things, that which all the good men and women in the world ſhall be in Heaven, that is, in the ſtate of perfect friendſhips. This is the biggeſt, but then it includes and can ſuppoſe all the reſt; and if this may be done for all, and in ſome caſes muſt for any one of the multitude, we need not ſcruple whether we may do it for thoſe who are better than a multitude. But as for the thing itſelf, it is not eaſily and lightly to be done; and a man muſt not die for humour, nor expend ſo great a jewel for a triffle: μόλις ἀνεπνεύσαμεν εἰδότες ἐπ' ὀδενὶ λυσιτελεῖ παρανάλωμα λενησόμενοι, ſaid *Philo*; we will hardly die when it is for nothing, when no good, no worthy end is ſerved, and become a ſacrifice to redeem a footboy. But we may not give our life to redeem another: unleſs, 1. The perſon for whom

whom we die be a worthy and an uſeful perſon; better for the public, or better for religion, and more uſeful to others than myſelf. Thus *Ribiſchius* the *German*, died bravely when he became a ſacrifice for his maſter, *Maurice* Duke of *Saxony*; covering his maſter's body with his own, that he might eſcape the fury of the Turkiſh ſoldiers. *Succurram perituro, ſed ut ipſe non peream, niſi ſi futurus ero magni hominis, aut magnæ rei merces*, ſaid *Seneca*. I will help a dying perſon if I can: but I will not die myſelf for him, unleſs by my death I ſave a brave man, or become the price of a great thing; that is, I will die for a prince, for the republic, or to ſave an army, as *David* expoſed himſelf to combat with the *Philiſtine* for the redemption of the hoſt of *Iſrael*; and in this ſenſe, that is true, *præſtat ut pereat unus quàm unitas*, better that one periſh than a multitude. 2. A man dies bravely when he gives his temporal life to ſave the ſoul of any ſingle perſon in the Chriſtian

Chriſtian world. It is a worthy exchange, and the glorification of that love by which Chriſt gave his life for every ſoul. Thus he that reproves an erring prince wiſely and neceſſarily, he that affirms a fundamental truth, or ſtands up for the glory of the divine attributes, though he die for it, becomes a worthy ſacrifice. 3. Theſe are duty, but it may be heroic and full of Chriſtian bravery, to give my life to reſcue a noble and brave friend, though I myſelf be as worthy a man as he; becauſe the preference of him is an act of humility in me, and of friendſhip towards him; *humility* and *charity* making a pious difference, where *art* and *nature* have made all equal.

Some have fancied other meaſures of treating our friends. One ſort of men ſay that we are to expect that our friends ſhould value us as we value ourſelves: which if it were to be admitted, will require that we make no friendſhips with a proud man; and ſo far indeed were well; but then this

this proportion does exclude ſome humble men who are moſt to be valued, and the rather becauſe they undervalue themſelves.

Others ſay that a friend is to value his friend as much as his friend values him; but neither is this well or ſafe, wiſe or ſufficient, for it makes friendſhip a mere bargain, and is ſomething like the country weddings in ſome places where I have been; where the bridegroom and the bride muſt meet in the half way, and if they fail a ſtep, they retire and break the match: it is not good to make a reckoning in friendſhip; that is, merchandiſe, or it may be gratitude, but not noble friendſhip; in which each part ſtrives to out-do each other in ſignifications of an excellent love; *and amongſt true friends there is no fear of loſing any thing.*

But that which among the old philoſophers comes neareſt to the right, is that we love our friends as we love ourſelves. If they had meant it as our bleſſed Saviour did,

of

of that general friendſhip by which we are to love all mankind, it had been perfect and well; or if they had meant it of the inward affection, or of outward juſtice; but becauſe they meant it of the moſt excellent friendſhips, and of the outward ſignification of it, it cannot be ſufficient; for a friend may and muſt ſometimes do more for his friend than he would do for himſelf. Some men will periſh before they will beg or petition for themſelves to ſome certain perſons; but they account it noble to do it for their friend, and they will want rather than their friend ſhall want, and they will be more earneſt in praiſe or diſpraiſe reſpectively for their friend than for themſelves. And indeed I account that one of the greateſt demonſtrations of real friendſhip is, that a friend can really endeavour to have his friend advanced in honour, in reputation, in the opinion of wit or learning before himſelf.

Aurum et opes et rura frequens donabit amicus :
Qui velit ingenio cedere, rarus erit.
Sed tibi tantus ineſt veteris reſpectus amici,
Carior ut mea ſit quam tua fama tibi.

Lands, gold and triffles many give or lend,
But he that ſtoops, in fame, is a rare friend ;
In friendſhip's orb thou art the brighteſt ſtar,
Before thy fame, mine thou prefereſt far.

Martial l. 8. Ep. 18.

But then be pleaſed to think that therefore I ſo highly value this ſignification of friendſhip, becauſe I ſo highly value humility ; *humility* and *charity* are the two greateſt graces in the world; and theſe are the greateſt ingredients which conſtitute friendſhip and expreſs it.

But there needs no other meaſures of friendſhip, but that it may be as great as you can expreſs it; beyond death it cannot go, to death it may when the cauſe is reaſonable and juſt, charitable and religious; and yet if there be any thing greater than to ſuffer death (and pain and ſhame to ſome

are

are more inſufferable) a true and noble friendſhip ſhrinks not at the greateſt trials.

And yet there is a limit even to friendſhip, it muſt be as great as our friend fairly needs in all things where we are not tied up by a former duty, to God, to ourſelves, or ſome pre-obliging relative. When *Pollux* heard ſomebody whiſper a reproach againſt his brother *Caſtor*, he killed the ſlanderer with his fiſt: that was a zeal which his friendſhip could not warrant. *Nulla eſt excuſatio ſi amici cauſâ peccaveris*, ſaid *Cicero*. No friendſhip can excuſe a ſin: and this the braver *Romans* inſtanced in the matter of duty to their country. It is not lawful to fight on our friends part againſt our prince or country; and therefore when *Caius Bloſius* of *Cuma* in the ſedition of *Gracchus* appeared againſt his country; when he was taken, he anſwered; that he loved *Tiberius Gracchus* ſo dearly, that he thought fit to follow him whitherſoever he led; and begged pardon upon that account: they who were his

judges were ſo noble, that though they knew it no fair excuſe, yet for the honour of friendſhip they did not directly reject his motion; but put him to death becauſe he did not follow, but led on *Gracchus*, and brought his friend into the ſnare: for ſo they preſerved the honours of friendſhip on either hand, by neither ſuffering it to be ſullied by a foul excuſe, nor yet rejected in any fair pretence. A man may not be perjured for his friend. I remember to have read in the hiſtory of the Low Countries, that *G imſton* and *Redhead*, when *Bergen-opzoon* was beſieged by the Duke of *Parma*, acted for the intereſt of the Queen of *England*'s forces a notable deſign; but being ſuſpected and put for their acquittance to take the Sacramant of the Altar, they diſſembled their perſons, and their intereſt, their deſign, and their religion, and did for the Queen's ſervice (as one wittily wrote to her) give not only their bodies but their ſouls, and ſo deſerved a reward greater than

ſhe

ſhe could pay them: I cannot ſay this is a thing greater than a friendſhip can require, for it is not great at all, but a great villany, which hath no name, and no order in worthy intercourſes; and no obligation to a friend can reach ſo high as our duty to God: and he that does a baſe thing in zeal for his friend, burns the golden thread that ties their hearts together; it is a *conſpiracy*, but no longer *friendſhip*. And when *Cato* lent his wife to *Hortenſius*, and *Socrates* his to a merry Greek, they could not amongſt wiſe perſons obtain ſo much as the fame of being worthy friends, neither could thoſe great names legitimate an unworthy action under the moſt plauſible title.

It is certain, that amongſt friends their eſtates are common, that is, by whatſoever I can reſcue my friend from calamity, I am to ſerve him, or not to call him friend; there is a great latitude in this, and it is to be reſtrained by no prudence, but when there is on the other ſide a great neceſſity,

neither vicious nor avoidable: a man may chooſe whether he will or no; and he does not ſin in not doing it, unleſs he have bound himſelf to it: *but certainly friendſhip is the greateſt bond in the world*, and if he have profeſſed a great friendſhip, he hath a very great obligation to do that and more; and he can no ways be diſobliged but by the care of his natural relations.

I ſaid, *friendſhip is the greateſt bond in the world*, and I had reaſon for it, for it is all the bands that this World hath; and there is no ſociety, and there is no relation that is worthy, but it is made ſo by the communications of friendſhip, and by partaking ſome of its excellencies. For friendſhip is a tranſcendent, and ſignifies as much as *unity* can mean; and every conſent and every pleaſure and every benefit, and every ſociety is the mother or daughter of friendſhip. Some friendſhips are made by *nature*, ſome by *contract*, ſome by *intereſt*, and ſome by *ſouls*. And in proportion to theſe ways of uniting,

uniting, ſo the friendſhips are greater or leſs, virtuous or natural, profitable or holy, or all this together. Nature makes excellent friendſhips, of which we obſerve ſomething in ſocial plants; growing better in each other's neighbourhood than where they ſtand ſingly: and in animals it is more notorious, whoſe friendſhips extend ſo far as to herd and dwell together, to play and feed, to defend and fight for one another, and to cry in abſence, and to rejoice in one another's preſence. But theſe friendſhips have other names leſs noble, they are *ſympathy*, or they are *inſtinct*. But if to this natural friendſhip there be reaſon ſuperadded, ſomething will come in upon the ſtock of reaſon which will ennoble it. But becauſe no rivers can riſe higher than fountains, reaſon ſhall draw out all the diſpoſitions which are in nature, and eſtabliſh them into friendſhips, but they cannot ſurmount the communications of nature: nature can make no friendſhips greater than her own excel-

lencies. Nature is the way of contracting neceſſary friendſhips, that is, by nature ſuch friendſhips are contracted, without which we cannot live, and be educated, or be well, or be at all.

In this ſcene, that of *parents* and *children* is the greateſt, which indeed is begun in nature, but is actuated by ſociety and mutual endearments. For parents love their children, becauſe they love themſelves, children being but like emiſſions of water, ſymbolical, or indeed the ſame with the fountain; and they in their poſterity ſee the images and inſtruments of a civil immortality. But if parents and children do not live together, we ſee their friendſhips and their loves are much abated, and ſupported only by fame and duty, by cuſtoms and religion, which to nature are but artificial pillars, and make this friendſhip to be complicated, and to paſs from its own kind to another, that of children to their parents is not properly friendſhip, but gratitude and intereſt,

intereſt, and religion, and whatever can ſupervene of the nature of friendſhip comes in upon another account; upon ſociety, worthineſs and choice.

This relation on either hand makes great dearneſſes: but it hath ſpecial and proper ſignifications of it, and there is a ſpecial duty incumbent on each other reſpectively. This friendſhip and ſocial relation is not equal, and there is too much authority on one ſide, and too much fear on the other to make equal friendſhips: and therefore although this is one of the kinds of friendſhip, that is of a ſocial relative love and converſation; yet in the more proper uſe of the word, *friendſhip* does do ſomethings which father and ſon do not; I inſtance in the free and open communicating counſels, and the evenneſs and pleaſantneſs of converſation; and conſequently the ſignifications of the paternal and filial love, as they are divers in themſelves and unequal, and therefore another kind of friendſhip than

we mean in our enquiry; ſo they are ſuch a duty which no other friendſhip can annul: becauſe their mutual duty is bound upon them by religion, long before any other friendſhip can be contracted: and therefore having firſt poſſeſſion muſt abide for ever. The duty and love to parents muſt not yield to religion, much leſs to any new friendſhips: and our parents are to be preferred before the *corban*, and are at no hand to be laid aſide but when they engage againſt God: that is, in the rights which this relation and kind of friendſhip challenges as its propriety, it is ſupreme, and cannot give place to any other friendſhips: till the father gives his right away, and God or the laws conſent to it; as in the caſe of marriage, emancipation, and adoption to another family: in which caſes though love and gratitude are ſtill obliging, yet the ſocieties and duties of relation are very much altered; which in the proper and beſt friendſhips can never be at all. But then this alſo is true; that the ſocial relations

tions of parents and children not having in them all the capacities of a proper friendſhip, cannot challenge all the ſignifications of it: that is, it is no prejudice to the duty I owe there, to pay all the dearneſſes which are due here, and to friends there are ſomethings due which the other cannot challenge, I mean *my ſecret* and *my equal converſation*, and the pleaſures and intereſts of theſe, and the conſequents of all.

Next to this the ſociety and dearneſs of *brothers* and *ſiſters*: which uſually is very great amongſt worthy perſons; but if it be conſidered what it is in itſelf, it is but very little; there is very often a likeneſs of natural temper, and there is a ſocial life under the ſame roof, and they are commanded to love one another, and they are equals in many inſtances, and are endeared by converſation when it is merry and pleaſant, innocent and ſimple, without art and deſign. But brothers paſs not into noble friendſhips upon the ſtock of that relation: they have fair

fair diſpoſitions and advantages, and are more eaſy and ready to ferment into the greateſt dearneſſes, if all things be anſwerable. Nature diſpoſes them well towards it, but in this enquiry, if we aſk what duty is paſſed upon a brother to a brother, even for being ſo? I anſwer, that religion and our parents, and God and the laws appoint what meaſures they pleaſe; but nature paſſes but very little, and friendſhip leſs; and this we ſee apparently in thoſe brothers who live aſunder, and contract new relations, dwell in other ſocieties. There is no love, no friendſhip without the intercourſe of converſation: friendſhips indeed may laſt longer than our abode together, but they were firſt contracted by it, and eſtabliſhed by pleaſure and benefit; and unleſs it be the beſt kind of friendſhip (which that of *brothers* in that mere capacity is not) it dies when it wants the proper nutriment and ſupport: and to this purpoſe is that which was ſpoken by *Solomon*: *better is a neighbour that is near, than*

than a brother which is far off: that is, although ordinarily brothers are firſt poſſeſſed of the entries and fancies of friendſhip, becauſe they are of the firſt ſocieties and converſations; yet when that ceaſes, and the brother goes away, ſo that he does no advantage, no benefit of intercourſe; the neighbour that dwells by me, with whom I converſe at all, either he is my enemy and does and receives evil: or if we converſe in worthineſs and benefit and pleaſant converſation, he is better in the laws and meaſures of friendſhip than my diſtant brother. And it is obſervable that *brother* is indeed a word of friendſhip and charity, and of mutual endearment, and ſo is a title of the braveſt ſociety; yet in all the Scripture there are no precepts given of any duty and comfort, which brothers, that is, the deſcendants of the ſame parents are to have one towards another in that capacity; and it is not becauſe their nearneſs is ſuch that they need none: for parents and children

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are nearer, and yet need tables of duty to be deſcribed; and for brothers, certainly they need it infinitely if there be any peculiar duty; *Cain* and *Abel* are the great probation of that, and you know who ſaid,

Fratrum quoque gratia rara eſt.

It is not often you ſhall ſee
Two brothers live in amity.

But the Scripture, which often deſcribes the duty of parents and children, never deſcribes the duty of brothers; except where by *brethren* are meant all that part of mankind who are tied to us by any vicinity and indearment of religion or country, of profeſſion and family, of contract and ſociety, of love and the nobleſt friendſhip; the meaning is, that though fraternity alone be the endearment of ſome degrees of friendſhip, without choice and excellency, yet the relation itſelf is not friendſhip, and does not naturally infer it, and that which is procured by it, is but limited and little; and though

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it may paſs into it, as other converſations may, yet the friendſhip is accidental to it, and enters upon other accounts, as it does between ſtrangers; with this only difference, that brotherhood does oftentimes aſſiſt the valuation of thoſe excellencies for which we entertain our friendſhips. Fraternity is the opportunity and preliminary diſpoſition to friendſhip, and no more. For if my brother be a fool or a vicious perſon, the love to which nature and our firſt converſation diſpoſes me, does not end in friendſhip, but in pity, fair proviſions and aſſiſtances: which is a demonſtration that brotherhood is but the inclination and addreſs to friendſhip. And though I will love a worthy brother more than a worthy ſtranger, if the worthineſs be equal, becauſe the relation is ſomething, and being put into the ſcales againſt an equal worthineſs muſt needs turn the ballance, as every grain will do in an even weight; yet when the relation is all the worthineſs that is pretended, it cannot

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ſtand in competition with a friend: but though a *friend brother* is better than a *friend ſtranger*, where the friend is equal, but the brother is not; yet a brother is not better than a friend; but as *Solomon*'s expreſſion is, *three is a friend that is better than a brother*: and to be born of the ſame parents is accidental and extrinſic to a man's pleaſure or worthineſs, or ſpiritual advantages, that though it be very pleaſing and uſeful that a brother ſhould be a friend, yet it is no great addition to a friend that he alſo is a brother: there is ſomething in it, but not much. But in ſhort, the caſe is thus, the firſt beginnings of friendſhip ſerve the neceſſities; but choice and worthineſs are the excellencies of its indearment and bravery; and between a brother that is no friend, and a friend that is no brother, there is the ſame difference as between the diſpoſition and the act or habit; a brother, if he be worthy, is the readieſt and the neareſt to be a friend, but till he be ſo, he is but the twilight of the day,

day, and but the bloſſom to the faireſt fruit of *Paradiſe*. A brother does not always make a friend, but a friend ever makes a brother, and more: and although nature ſometimes finds the tree, yet friendſhip engraves the image; the firſt relation places him in the garden, but friendſhip ſets it in the temple, and then only it is venerable and ſacred, and ſo is brotherhood when it hath the ſoul of friendſhip.

So that if it be aſked which are moſt to be valued, *brothers* or *friends*; the anſwer is very eaſy, brotherhood is or may be one of the kinds of friendſhip, and from thence only hath its value, and therefore if it be compared with a greater friendſhip muſt give place: but then it is not to be aſked which is to be preferred, a *brother* or a *friend*, but which is the better friend, *Memnon* or my *brother*? For if my brother ſays I ought to love him beſt, then he ought to love me beſt; if he does, then there is a great friendſhip, and he poſſibly is to be preferred; if

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he can be that friend which he pretends to be, that is, if he be equally worthy: but if he ſays, I muſt love him only becauſe he is my brother, whether he loves me or no, he is ridiculous; and it will be a ſtrange relation which hath no correſpondent: but ſuppoſe it, and add this alſo, that I am equally his brother as he is mine, and then he alſo muſt love me whether I love him or no; and if he does not, he ſays, I muſt love him though he be mine enemy; and ſo I muſt: but I muſt not love my enemy though he be my brother, more than my friend; and at laſt, if he does love me for being his brother, I confeſs that his love deſerves love again; but then I conſider that he loves me upon an incompetent reaſon: for he that loves me only becauſe I am his brother, loves me for that which is no worthineſs, and I muſt love him as much as that comes to, and for as little reaſon; unleſs this be added, that he loves me firſt: but whether choice and union of ſouls,

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and worthineſs of manners, and greatneſs of underſtanding, and uſefulneſs of converſation, and the benefits of counſel, and all thoſe endearments which make our lives pleaſant and our perſons dear, are not better and greater reaſons of love and dearneſs than to be born of the ſame fleſh, I think amongſt wiſe perſons needs no great inquiry. For fraternity is but a cognation of bodies, but friendſhip is an union of ſouls which are confederated by more noble ligatures. My brother, if he be no more, ſhall have my hand to help him; but unleſs he be my friend too, he cannot challenge my heart, and if his being my friend be the greater nearneſs, then *friend* is more than *brother*, and I ſuppoſe no man doubts but that *David* loved *Jonathan* far more than he loved his brother *Eliab*.

One enquiry more there may be in this affair, and that is, whether a *friend* may be more than a *huſband* or *wife*. To which I anſwer, that it can never be reaſonable or

juſt, prudent or lawful: but the reaſon is, becauſe marriage is the queen of friendſhips, in which there is a communication of all that can be communicated by friendſhip: and it being made ſacred by vows and love, by bodies and ſouls, by intereſt and cuſtom, by religion and laws, by common counſels and common fortunes; it is the principal in the kind of friendſhip, and the meaſure of all the reſt. And there is no abatement to this conſideration, but that there may be ſome allay in this, as in other leſſer friendſhips, by the incapacity of the perſons: if I have not choſen my friend wiſely or fortunately, he cannot be the correlative in the beſt union: but then the friend lives as the ſoul does after death, it is in the ſtate of ſeparation, in which the ſoul ſtrangely loves the body and longs to be re-united, but the body is an uſeleſs trunk, and can do no miniſtries to the ſoul; which therefore prays to have the body reformed, and reſtored, and made a brave and fit companion: ſo muſt theſe beſt friends

friends when one is uſeleſs or unapt to the braveries of the princely friendſhip, they muſt love ever and pray ever, and long till the other be perfected and made fit: in this caſe there wants only the body, but the ſoul is ſtill a relative and muſt be ſo for ever.

An *huſband* and a *wife* are the beſt friends, but they cannot always ſignify all that to each other which their friendſhips would: as the ſun ſhines not upon a valley which ſends up a thick vapour to cover his face: and though his beams are eternal, yet the emiſſion is intercepted by the intervening cloud. But however, all friendſhips are but parts of this; a man muſt leave father and mother and cleave to his wife, that is, *the deareſt thing in nature is not comparable to the deareſt thing in friendſhip:* and I think this is argument ſufficient to prove friendſhip to be the greateſt band in the world; add to this, that other friendſhips are part of this, they are marriages too, leſs indeed

than the other, becauſe they cannot, muſt not be all that endearment which the other is; yet that being the principle, is the meaſure of the reſt, and are all to be honoured by like dignities, and meaſured by the ſame rules, and conducted by their portion of the ſame laws. But as friendſhips are *marriages* of the ſoul, and of fortunes, intereſts and counſels; ſo they are brotherhoods too, and I often think of the excellencies of friendſhips in the words of *David*, who certainly was the beſt friend in the world, *ecce quàm bonum et quàm jucundum fratres habitare in unum.* It is good and it is pleaſant that bretheren ſhould live like friends, that is, they who are any ways relative, and who are any ways ſocial and confederate, ſhould alſo dwell in unity and loving ſociety, for that is the meaning of the word *brother* in Scripture. It was my brother *Jonathan*, ſaid *David*; ſuch brothers contracting ſuch friendſhips are the beauties of ſociety; the pleaſure of life, and the feſtivity of minds:

and

and whatſoever can be ſpoken of love, which is God's eldeſt daughter, can be ſaid of virtuous friendſhips; and though *Carneades* made an eloquent oration at *Rome* againſt juſtice, yet never ſaw a panegyric of malice, or ever read that any man was witty againſt friendſhip. Indeed it is probable that ſome men; finding themſelves by the peculiarities of friendſhip excluded from the participation of thoſe beauties of ſociety which enamel and adorn the wiſe and the virtuous, might ſuppoſe themſelves to have reaſon to ſpeak the evil words of envy and detraction; I wonder not for all thoſe unhappy ſouls which ſhall find Heaven gates ſhut againſt them, will think they have reaſon to murmur and blaſpheme. The ſimilitude is apt enough, for that is the region of friendſhip, and love is the light of that glorious country, but ſo bright that it needs no ſun. Here we have fine and bright rays of that Celeſtial Flame, and though to all mankind the light of it is in ſome meaſure to be extended like the

treaſures of light dwelling in the ſouth, yet a little do illuſtrate and beautify the north, yet ſome live under the Line, and the beams of friendſhip in that poſition are eminent and perpendicular.

I know but one thing more in which the communications of friendſhip can be reſtrained, and that is, in friends and enemies: *amicus amici, amicus meus non eſt:* my friend's friend is not always my friend: nor his enemy mine; for if my friend quarrel with a third perſon with whom he hath had no friendſhips, upon the account of intereſt; if that third perſon be my friend, the nobleneſs of our friendſhips deſpiſes ſuch a quarrel; and what may be reaſonable in him, would be ignoble in me; ſometimes it may be otherways, and friends may marry one anothers loves and hatreds, but it is by chance if it can be juſt, and therefore *becauſe it is not always right, it cannot be ever neceſſary.*

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In all things elſe let friendſhips be as high and expreſſive till they become an union, or that friends, like the *Molinoidæ*, be ſo the ſame that the flames of their dead bodies make but one *pyramis*; no charity can be reproved, and ſuch friendſhips which are more than ſhadows, are nothing elſe but the rays of that glorious grace drawn into one center, and made more active by the union; and the proper ſignifications are well repreſented in the old hieroglyphic, by which the antients depicted friendſhip; in the beauties and ſtrength of a young man, bare-headed, rudely clothed, to ſignifiy its activity and laſtingneſs, readineſs of action, and aptneſs to do ſervice; upon the fringes of his garment was written, *mors et vita*, as ſignifying that *in life and death* the friendſhip was the ſame; on the forehead was written *ſummer* and *winter*, that is, proſperous and adverſe accidents and ſtates of life; the left arm and ſhoulder was bare and naked down to the heart, to which the finger

pointed, and there was written *longè et propè*: by all which we know that friendſhip does good far and near, in ſummer and winter, in life and death, and knows no difference of ſtate or accident but by the variety of her ſervices: and therefore aſk no more to what we can be obliged by friendſhip; for it is every thing that can be *honeſt* and *prudent*, *uſeful* and *neceſſary*.

For this is all the allay of this univerſality, we may do or ſuffer any thing that is *wiſe* or *neceſſary*, or *greatly beneficial* to my friend, and that *in any thing*, in which I am *perfect maſter* of my *perſon* and *fortunes*. But I would not in bravery viſit my friend when he is ſick of the plague, unleſs I can do him good equal at leaſt to my danger; but I will procure him phyſicians and prayers, all the aſſiſtances that he can receive and deſire, if they be in my power: and when he is dead, I will not run into his grave and be ſtifled with his earth; but I will mourn for him, and perform his will, and take care

of

of his relatives, and do for him as if he were alive; and I think that is the meaning of that hard ſaying of a *Greek* poet.

Ἄνθρωπ ἀλλήλοισιν ἀπόπροθεν ὦμεν ἑταῖροι,
Πλην τότε παντὸς χρήματός ἐσι κόρ@.

To me though diſtant let thy friendſhip fly,
Though men be mortal, friendſhips muſt not die:
Of all things elſe there's great ſatiety.

Of ſuch immortal abſtracted pure friendſhips indeed there is no great plenty, and to ſee brothers hate each other is not ſo rare as to ſee them love at this rate. *The dead and the abſent have but few friends*, ſay the *Spaniards*; but they who are the ſame to their friends ἀπόπροθεν when he is in another country, or in another world, theſe are they who are fit to preſerve the ſacred fire for eternal ſacrifices, and to perpetuate the memory of thoſe exemplar friendſhips of the beſt men which have filled the world with hiſtory and wonder: for in no other ſenſe but this can it be true,

that

that friendſhips are pure loves, regarding to do good more than to receive it. He that is a friend after death, hopes not for a recompenſe from his friend, and makes no bargain either for fame or love; but is rewarded with the conſcience and ſatisfaction of doing bravely, but then this is demonſtration that they chooſe friends beſt, who take perſons ſo worthy that can and will do ſo. This is the profit and uſefulneſs of friendſhip; and he that contracts ſuch a noble union, muſt take care that his friend be ſuch who can and will; but hopes that himſelf ſhall be firſt uſed, and put to act it. I will not have ſuch a friendſhip that is good for nothing, but I hope that I ſhall be on the giving and aſſiſting part; and yet if both the friends be ſo noble, and hope and ſtrive to do the benefit, I cannot well ſay which ought to yield, and whether that friendſhip were braver that could be content to be unproſperous ſo his friend might have the glory of aſſiſting him; or that which

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deſires to give aſſiſtances in the greateſt meaſures of friendſhips: but he that chuſes a worthy friend, that himſelf in the days of ſorrow and need, might receive the advantage, hath no excuſe, no pardon, unleſs himſelf be as certain to do aſſiſtances when evil fortune ſhall require them. The ſum of this anſwer to this enquiry I give you in a pair of *Greek* verſes.

Ἴσον θεῷ σῦ τὸς φίλυς τιμᾶν θέλε.
Ἐν τοῖς κακοῖς δὲ τὸς φίλυς εὐεργέτει.

Friends are to friends as leſſer gods, while they
Honour and ſervice to each other pay.
But when a dark cloud comes, grudge not to lend
Thy head, thy heart, thy fortune to thy friend.

3. The laſt inquiry is, *how far friendſhips are to be conducted?* that is, *what are the duties in preſence and abſence; whether the friend may not deſire to enjoy his friend as well as his friendſhip?* The anſwer to which, in a great meaſure, depends npon what I have ſaid already: and if friendſhip be a charity

charity in ſociety, and is not for contemplation and noiſe, but for material comforts, noble treatments and uſages, this is no peradventure, but that if I buy land, I may eat the fruits; and if I take a houſe, I may dwell in it; and if I love a worthy perſon, I may pleaſe myſelf in his ſociety: and in this there is no exception, unleſs the friendſhip be between perſons of a different ſex: for then, not only the intereſt of their religion, and the care of their honor, but the worthineſs of their friendſhip requires that their intercourſe be prudent and free from ſuſpicion and reproach. And if a friend is obliged to bear a calamity, ſo he ſecure the honour of his friend; it will concern him to conduct his intercourſe in the lines of a virtuous prudence, ſo that he ſhall rather loſe much of *his own comfort*, than ſhe any thing of *her honour*; and in this caſe the noiſes of people are ſo to be regarded, that next to innocence they are the principal. But when by caution, prudence, and ſevere conduct,

a friend

a friend hath done all that he or ſhe can to ſecure fame and honorable reports; after this, their noiſes are to be deſpiſed; they muſt not fright us from our friendſhips, nor from her faireſt intercourſes; *I may lawfully pluck the cluſters from my own vine, though he that walk by calls me thief.*

But by the way (Madam) you may ſee how much I differ from the moroſity of thoſe *Cynics* who would not admit your ſex into the communities of a noble friendſhip. I believe ſome wives have been the beſt friends in the world; and few ſtories can out-do the nobleneſs and piety of that lady that ſucked the poiſonous, purulent matter from the wound of our brave prince in the Holy Land, when an aſſaſſin had pierced him with a venomed arrow. And if it be told that women cannot retain counſel, and therefore can be no brave friends; I can beſt confute them by the ſtory of *Porcia*, who being fearful of the weakneſs of her ſex, ſtabbed herſelf into the thigh, to try how

how ſhe could bear pain: and finding herſelf conſtant enough to that ſufference, gently chid her *Brutus* for not daring to truſt her, ſince now ſhe perceived that no torment could wreſt that ſecret from her, which ſhe hoped might be intruſted to her. If there were not more things to be ſaid for your ſatisfaction, I could have made it diſputable whether have been more illuſtrious in their friendſhips, men or women? I cannot ſay that women are capable of all thoſe excellencies by which men can oblige the world; and therefore a female friend, in ſome caſes, is not ſo good a counſellor as a wiſe man, and cannot ſo well defend my honor; nor diſpoſe of reliefs and aſſiſtances if ſhe be under the power of another: but a woman can love as paſſionately, and converſe as pleaſantly, and retain a ſecret as faithfully, and be uſeful in her proper miniſtries; and ſhe can die for her friend as well as the braveſt *Roman* knight; and we find that ſome perſons have engaged themſelves

ſelves as far as death, upon a leſs intereſt than all this amounts to: ſuch were the ευχωλιμαίοι, as the *Greeks* call them, the *Devoti* of a prince or general, the aſſaſſin amongſt the *Saracens*, Ζολιδάνοι amongſt the old *Galatians*: they did as much as a friend could do. And if the greateſt ſervices of a friend can be paid for by an ignoble price, we cannot grudge to virtuous and brave women that they be partners in a noble friendſhip; ſince their converſations and returns can add ſo many moments to the felicity of our lives; and therefore though a knife cannot enter as far as a ſword, yet a knife may be more uſeful to ſome purpoſes, and in every thing, except it be againſt an enemy. A man is the beſt friend in trouble; but a woman may be equal to him in the days of joy: a woman can as well increaſe our comforts; but cannot ſo well leſſen our ſorrows: and therefore we do not carry women with us when we go to fight; but in peaceful cities and times virtuous,

virtuous, women are the beauties of ſociety, and the prettineſſes of friendſhip. And when we conſider that few perſons in the world have all thoſe excellencies by which friendſhip can be uſeful and illuſtrious, we may as well allow women as men to be friends; ſince *they* can have all that which can be neceſſary and eſſential to friendſhips, and *theſe* cannot have all by which friendſhips can be accidentally improved: in all ſome abatements will be made; and we ſhall do too much honor to women if we reject them from friendſhips, becauſe they are not perfect: for if to friendſhips we admit imperfect men, becauſe no man is perfect; he that rejects women finds fault with them becauſe they are not more perfect than men; which either does ſecretly affirm that they ought and can be perfect, or elſe it openly accuſes men of injuſtice and partiality.

I hope you will pardon me that I am a little gone from my undertaking; I went aſide

aſide to wait upon the women, and to do countenance to their tender virtues: I am now returned, and, if I was to do the office of a guide to uninſtructed friends, would add the particulars following: Madam, you need not read them now, but when any friends come to be taught by your precept and example how to converſe in the nobleſt conjurations, you may put theſe into better words and tell them.

1. That the firſt law of friendſhip is, they muſt neither aſk of their friend what is indecent; nor grant it if themſelves be aſked. For it is no good office to make my friend more vicious or more a fool; I will reſtrain his folly but not nurſe it; I will not make my groom the officer of my luſt and vanity. There are villains who ſell their ſouls for bread; that offer ſin and vanity at a price: I ſhould be unwilling my friend ſhould know I am vicious; but if he could be brought to miniſter to it, he is not worthy to be my friend: and if

I could offer it to him, I do not deſerve to claſp hands with a virtuous perſon.

2. Let no man chooſe him for a friend whom it ſhall be poſſible for him ever after to hate; for though the *ſociety* may juſtly be interrupted, yet love is an immortal thing, and I will never deſpiſe him whom I could once think worthy of my love. A friend that proves not good, is rather to be ſuffered than any enmities entertained: and there are ſome outer offices of friendſhip and little drudgeries, in which the leſs worthy to be employed; and it is better that he be below ſtairs than quite thrown out of doors.

3. There are two things which a friend can never pardon, a treacherous blow and the revealing of a ſecret; becauſe theſe are againſt the nature of friendſhip; they are the adulteries of it, and diſſolve the union; and in the matters of friendſhip, which is the marriage of ſouls, theſe are the proper cauſes of divorce; and therefore I ſhall add this

this only, that *ſecreſy* is the *chaſtity of friend-ſhip*, and the publication of it is a proſtitution and direct debauchery, but a ſecret treacherous wound is a perfect and unpardonable apoſtacy. I remember a pretty apologue that *Bromiard* tells: a fowler in a ſharp froſty morning having taken many little birds for which he had long watched, began to take up his nets; and nipping the birds on the head laid them down. A young thruſh eſpying the tears trickling down his cheeks by reaſon of the extreme cold; ſaid to his mother, that certainly the man was very merciful and compaſſionate that wept ſo bitterly over the calamity of the poor birds: but her mother told her more wiſely, that ſhe might better judge of the man's diſpoſition by his hand than by his eye; and if the hand ſtrikes treacherouſly, he can never be admitted to friendſhip, who ſpeaks fairly and weeps pitifully. Friendſhip is the greateſt honeſty and ingenuity in the world.

4. Never accuſe thy friend, nor believe him that does; if thou doſt thou haſt broken the ſkin: but he that is angry with every little fault, breaks the bones of friendſhip. And when we conſider that in ſociety, and the accidents of every day, in which no man is conſtantly pleaſed or diſpleaſed with the ſame things, we ſhall find reaſon to impute the change unto ourſelves; and the emanations of the ſun are ſtill glorious when our eyes are ſore: and we have no reaſon to be angry with an eternal light, becauſe we have a changable and mortal faculty. But however, do not think thou didſt contract alliance with an angel, when thou didſt take thy friend into thy boſom; he may be weak as well as thou art; and thou mayeſt need pardon as well as he; and *that man loves flattery more than friendſhip, who would not only have his friend, but all the contingencies of his friend to humour him.*

5. Give

5. Give thy friend counſel wiſely and charitably, but leave him to his liberty whether he will follow thee or no: and be not angry if thy counſel be rejected: for *advice is no empire*, and he is not my friend that will be my judge, whether I will or no. *Neoptolemus* had never been honored with the victory and ſpoils of *Troy*, if he had attended to the tears and counſel of *Lycomedes*, who being afraid to venture the young man, fain would have him ſleep at home ſafe in his little iſland. He that gives advice to his friend, and *exacts obedience* to it, does not the kindneſs and ingenuity of a friend, but the office and pertneſs of a ſchool maſter.

6. Never be a judge between thy friends in any matter where both ſet their hearts upon the victory: if ſtrangers or enemies be litigants, whatever ſide thou favoureſt, thou getteſt a friend, but when friends are the parties thou loſeſt one.

7. Never comport thyſelf ſo, as that thy friend can be afraid of thee: for then the ſtate of the relation alters when a new and troubleſome paſſion ſupervenes. *ODERUNT quos METUUNT. Perfect love caſteth out fear*; and no man is a friend to a tyrant; but that friendſhip is tyranny where the love is changed into fear; equality, into empire, ſociety into obedience; for then all my kindneſs to him alſo will be no better than flattery.

8. When you admoniſh your friend, let it be without bitterneſs; when you chide him, let it be without reproach: when you praiſe him, let it be with worthy purpoſes, and for juſt cauſes; and in friendly meaſures; too much of that is flattery, too little is envy: if you do it juſtly, you teach him true meaſures; but when others praiſe him, rejoice, though they praiſe not thee; and remember, that if thou eſteemeſt his praiſe to be thy diſparagement, thou art envious, but neither juſt nor kind.

9. When

9. When all things elſe are equal, prefer an old friend before a new. If thou meaneſt to ſpend thy friend and make a gain of him till he be weary, thou wilt eſteem him as a beaſt of burden, the worſe for his age: but if thou eſteemeſt him by noble meaſures, he will be better to thee by thy being uſed to him, by trial and experience, by reciprocation of endearments, and an habitual worthineſs. An old friend is like old wine, which when a man hath drank, he doth not deſire new, becauſe he ſaith the old is better. But every old friend was new once; and if he be worthy, keep the new one till he become old.

10. After all this, treat thy friend nobly; love to be with him, do to him all the worthineſſes of love and fair endearment according to thy capacity, and his: bear with his infirmities till they approach towards being criminal; but never diſſemble with him never deſpiſe him, never leave him. Give him gifts and upbraid him not, and refuſe

not his kindneſſes, and be ſure never to deſpiſe the ſmallneſs or the impropriety of them. *Confirmatur amor beneficio accepto*: a gift (ſaith *Solomon*) faſteneth friendſhips: for as an eye that dwells long upon a ſtar, muſt be refreſhed with leſſer beauties, and ſtrengthened with greens and looking-glaſſes, leſt the ſight become amazed with too great a ſplendor; ſo muſt the love of friends ſometimes be refreſhed with material and low careſſes; leſt by ſtriving to be *too divine* it becomes *leſs human*. It muſt be allowed its ſhare of both: it is *human* in giving pardon and fair conſtruction, and openneſs and ingenuity, and keeping ſecrets: it hath *ſomething* that is *divine*, becauſe it is *beneficent*; but *much* becauſe it is *eternal*.

Of habitual Sins and their Remedy.

BOETHIUS, the Epicurean, being aſked, upon occaſion of the fame of Strato's comedy, why, it being troubleſome to us, to ſee a man furious, angry, timorous or ſad, we do yet with ſo great pleaſure behold all theſe paſſions acted with the higheſt, neareſt, and moſt natural ſignifications? In anſwer to the queſtion, diſcourſed wittily concerning the powers of art and reaſon; and how much ourſelves can add to our own natures by art and ſtudy. Children chuſe bread efformed in the image of a bird or man, rather than a loaf plucked rudely from the baker's lump; and a golden fiſh, rather than an artleſs ingot: becauſe reaſon and art being mingled with it, it entertains more faculties, and pleaſes on more ſides.

Thus we are delighted, when upon a table we ſee Cleopatra dying with her Aſpics, or Lucretia piercing her chaſte breaſt. We give great prices for a picture of St.

Sebaſtian

Sebaſtian ſhot through with a ſhower of arrows, or St. Lawrence roaſting upon his gridiron, when the things themſelves would have pierced our eyes with horror, and rent our very hearts with pity and compaſſion: and the country fellows were ſo taken with Parmeno's imitating the noiſe of ſwine, that they preferred it before that of the Arcadian boar; being ſo deceived with fancy and prejudice, that they thought it more natural than that which indeed was ſo.

For firſt we are naturally pleaſed with imitation, and have ſecret deſires to tranſcribe the copy of the creation; and then having weakly imitated the work of God, in making ſome *kind of* production from our own perfections, ſuch as it is, and ſuch as they are, we are delighted with the imagery, as God is in the contemplation of the world. For we ſee a nature brought in upon us by art and imitation: but what in natural things we can but weakly imitate,

imitate, in moral things we can really effect. We can efform our nature over anew, and create ourſelves again, and make ourſelves bad, when God has made us good; and what was innocent in nature, we make to be vicious by cuſtom and evil habit.

Or on the contrary, what was crooked in nature, we can make ſtrait by philoſophy, and wiſe notices, and ſevere cuſtoms; and there is nothing in nature ſo imperfect or vicious, but it can be made uſeful and regular by reaſon and cuſtom, and the grace of God: and even our brute parts are obedient to theſe. Homer obſerves it of the wiſe Ulyſſes, that though he was troubled to ſee his wife weep for him, yet he held the corners of his eyes, as firmly as the horn of his bow, or the iron of his ſpear, and by his wit he kept his eyes from running over. Thus *Reaſon* can make every member of the body obey, but *Uſe* can make it obey willingly; reaſon can *command* nature, but

but uſe can *change* it; reaſon can make nature *do* what it pleaſes, but uſe can make it *be* ſo.

Advices relating to the Matter of Original Sin.

IT is very requiſite, that we ſhould underſtand the ſtate of our own infirmity, the weakneſs of the fleſh, the temptations, and diverſions of the ſpirit; that by underſtanding our preſent ſtate, we may prevent the evils of careleſſneſs and ſecurity: our evils are the imperfections and ſorrows inherent, or appendant to our bodies, our ſouls, our ſpirits.

In our bodies we find weakneſs, and imperfection; ſometimes crookedneſs, ſometimes monſtroſity: filthineſs and wearineſs, infinite numbers of diſeaſes, and an uncertain cure; great pain and reſtleſs nights, hunger and thirſt, daily neceſſities, ridiculous geſtures,

geſtures, madneſs from paſſions, diſtempers and diſorders, great labour to provide meat and drink, and oftentimes a loathing when we have them: if we uſe them, they breed ſickneſſes, if we uſe them not we die; and there is ſuch a certain healthleſſneſs in many things to all, and in all things to ſome men and at ſome times, that to ſupply a need is to bring a danger; and if we eat like beaſts only of one thing, our ſouls are quickly weary; if we eat variety, we are ſick and intemperate; and our bodies are inlets to ſin, and a ſtage of temptation. If we cheriſh them, they undo us, if we do not cheriſh them, they die: we ſuffer illuſion in our dreams, and abſurd fancies when we are waking: our life is ſoon done, and yet very tedious; it is too long, and too ſhort: darkneſs and light are both troubleſome, and thoſe things which are unpleaſant are very unwholeſome: ſome ſweet ſmells make the head ache, and thoſe ſmells which are medicinal in ſome diſeaſes,

diſeaſes, are intolerable to the ſenſe. The pleaſures of our body are bigger in expectation than in poſſeſſion; and yet, while they are expected, they torment us with the delay, and when they are enjoyed, they are as if they were not, abuſing us with their vanity, and vexing us with their fugitive and volatile nature. Our pains are very frequent alone, and very often mingled with pleaſures to ſpoil them; and he that feels one ſharp pain, feels not all the pleaſures of the world, if they were in his power to have them. We live a precarious life, begging help of every thing, and needing the repairs of every day, and being beholden to beaſts and birds, to plants and trees, to dirt and ſtones, to the very excrement of beaſts, and that which dogs and horſes throw forth. Our motion is ſlow and dull, heavy and uneaſy; we cannot move, but we are quickly tired; and for every day's labour, we need a whole night to recruit our loſt ſtrength; we live

like

like a lamp, unleſs new materials be perpetually poured in, we live no longer than a fly: and our motion is not otherwiſe than a clock, we muſt be pulled up once or twice in twenty four hours; and unleſs we be in the ſhadow of death for ſix or eight hours every night, we ſhall be ſcarce in the ſhadow of life the other ſixteen. Heat and cold are both our enemies, and yet the one always dwells within, and the other dwells round about us. The chances and contingencies that trouble us, are no more to be numbered than the minutes of eternity. The devil often hurts us, and we hurt each other oftener, perpetually doing miſchief to ourſelves. The ſtars in their courſes fight againſt ſome men, and all the elements againſt every man; the Heavens ſend evil influence, and the air we ſuck in corrupts our lungs. Many are deformed, and blind, and ill coloured, and yet upon the moſt beauteous face is placed one of the worſt ſinks of the body, and we

are

are forced oftentimes to paſs that through our mouths which our eyes and our ſtomach hates. Pliny did wittily and elegantly repreſent this ſtate of evil things, "a man is born happily, but at firſt he lies bound hand and foot, by impotency, and cannot ſtir; the creature weeps, that was born to rule over all other creatures, and begins his life with puniſhments, for no fault, but that he was born." In ſhort, the body is a region of diſeaſes, ſorrow, weakneſs and temptation—here is cauſe enough of being humbled.

Neither is it better in the ſoul of man, where ignorance dwells and paſſion rules. After death came in, there entered alſo a ſwarm of paſſions; and the will obeys every thing but God. Our judgement is often abuſed in matters of ſenſe, and one faculty gueſſes at truth by confuting another; and the error of the eye is corrected by ſomething of reaſon, or a former experience. Our fancy is often abuſed, and yet creates

creates things of itſelf, by tying deſperate things together, that can cohere no more than muſick and a cable, than meat and ſyllogiſms: and yet this alone does many times make credibilities in the underſtandings. Our memories are ſo frail, that they need inſtruments of recollection and laborious artifices to help them; and in the uſe of theſe artifices ſometimes are forgot the meaning of theſe inſtruments: and of thoſe millions of ſins which we have committed, we ſcarce remember ſo many as to make us ſorrowful, or aſhamed. Our judgements are baffled with every ſophiſm, and we change our opinion with a wind, and are confident againſt truth, but in love with error. We uſe to reprove one error by another, and loſe truth while we contend too earneſtly for it. Infinite opinions there are in matters of religion, and moſt men are confident, and moſt are deceived in many things, and all in ſome; and thoſe few that are not confident, have only reaſon

enough to ſuſpect their own reaſon. We do not know our own bodies, nor what is within us, nor what ails us when we are ſick, nor whereof we are made; nay, we often times cannot tell what we think, or believe, or love. We deſire and hate the ſame thing, ſpeak againſt and run after it. We reſolve, and then conſider; we bind ourſelves, and then find cauſes why we ought not to be bound, and want not ſome pretences to make ourſelves believe we were not bound. Prejudice and intereſt are our two great motives of believing; we weigh deeper what is extrinſical to a queſtion, than what is in its nature; and oftener regard who ſpeaks, than what is ſaid: in ſhort, the ſoul, joined with the body, is like the conjunction of the living with the dead; the dead are not quickened by it, but the living are afflicted and die.

But then, if we conſider what our ſpirit is, we have reaſon to lie down flat upon our faces, confeſſing God's glory and our own.

own ſhame. When it is at the beſt, it is but willing, and can do nothing without the miracle of grace. It is fooliſh and improvident; large in deſires, and narrow in abilities; naturally curious in trifles, and inquiſitive after vanities; but neither underſtands deeply, nor affectionately reliſhes the things of God: pleaſed with forms, cozened with pretences, ſatisfied with ſhadows, incurious of ſubſtances and realities; it is quick enough to find doubts, and when the doubts are ſatisfied, it raiſes ſcruples; that is, it is reſtleſs after it is put to ſleep, and will be troubled in ſpite of all arguments of peace. It is incredibly negligent in matters of religion, and moſt ſollicitous and troubled in the things of the world. We love ourſelves and deſpiſe others, judging moſt unjuſt ſentences by peeviſh and croſs meaſures; covetouſneſs and ambition, gain and empire, are the proportion by which we take account of things. We hate to be governed by others,

even when we cannot dreſs ourſelves; and to be forbidden to do or have a thing, is the beſt art in the world, to make us greedy of it. The fleſh and the ſpirit are perpetually at ſtrife; the ſpirit pretending that his ought to be the dominion, and the fleſh alledging, that this is her ſtate and her day. We hate our preſent condition, and know not how to better ourſelves; our changes being but like the tumblings and toſſings of a fever, from trouble to trouble, that is all the variety. We are extremely inconſtant, and always hate our own choice; we deſpair ſometimes of God's mercies, and are confident in our own follies; as we order things, we cannot avoid little ſins, and do not avoid great ones. We love the preſent world, though it be good for nothing; and undervalue infinite mercies, if they be not to be had till the day of recompence. We are peeviſh, if a ſervant does but break a glaſs, and patient, when we have thrown an ill caſt for eternity; throwing

throwing away the hopes of a glorious crown, for wine and dirty ſilver. We know that our prayers, if well ſaid, are great advantages to our ſtate, and yet we are hardly brought to them, and love not to ſtay at them, and wander while we are ſaying them, and ſay them without minding, and are glad when they are done, or when we have a reaſonable excuſe to omit them. A paſſion does quite overturn all our purpoſes, and all our principles, and there are certain times of weakneſs in which any temptation may prevail, if it comes in that unlucky minute.

This is a little repreſentment of the ſtate of man, whereof a great part is natural impotency, and the other is brought in by our own folly: and, ſuppoſing this loſs was brought firſt upon Adam, and ſo deſcended upon us, yet we have no cauſe to complain, for we loſt nothing that was ours. We cannot be ſaid to loſe what we never had, and our father's goods were not to deſcend

upon us, unleſs they were his at his death: if, therefore, they be confiſcated before his death, ours, indeed, is the inconvenience too.—Let us then accuſtom ourſelves to religion and ſpiritual things, and then much of our evil nature will paſs away into habits of virtue: let us educate our children and charges ſtrictly and ſeverely; let them not be ſuffered to ſwear, before they can pray; nor taught little revenges in the cradle; nor pride at ſchool; nor fightings in companies, nor drinkings in all their entertainments; nor luſts in private; nor teach their palate, before we inſtruct their tongue: the painful operation is ſoon over, and then all is peace; for, as Electra ſaid in the tragedy—"though our nature is bad enough in itſelf, yet it is very good to them that uſe it well."

APOLOGY

FOR

AUTHORIZED AND SET FORMS

OF

LITURGY.

Printed 1674.

WHEN judges were inſtead of kings, and Hophni and Phinehas were among the prieſts, every man did what was right in his own eyes, but few did what was pleaſing in the eyes of the Lord: and the event was this, God put on his fierce anger againſt them, and ſtirred up and armed the enemies of their country and religion: and they prevailed very far, againſt the expectation and confidence of them,

who thought the goodneſs of their cauſe, would have borne out the iniquity of their perſons, and that the impiety of their adverſaries would have diſabled them even from being made God's ſcourges and inſtruments of puniſhing his own people: the ſadneſs of the event proved the vanity of their hopes; for that which was the inſtrument of their worſhip—the determination of their religious addreſſes—the place where God did meet his people, from which the prieſts ſpake to God, and God gave his oracles—that they diſhonourably and miſerably loſt: the Ark of the Lord was taken, the impious prieſts, who made the ſacrifice of the Lord to become an abomination to the people, were ſlain with the ſword of the Philiſtines; old Eli loſt his life, and the wife of Phinehas died with ſorrow, and the miſcarriages of child-birth, crying out that the glory was departed from Iſrael, becauſe the Ark of God was taken.

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In theſe things we have been but too like the ſons of Iſrael; for when we ſinned as greatly, we alſo have groaned under as great and ſad a calamity. For we have not only felt the evils of an inteſtine war, but God hath ſmitten us in our ſpirit, and laid the ſcene of judgement eſpecially in religion. He hath ſnuffed our lamp ſo near, that it is almoſt extinguiſhied, and the ſacred fire was put into a hole of the earth; even then, when we were forced to light thoſe tapers that ſtood upon our altars, that by this ſad truth, better than by the old ceremony, we might prove our ſucceſſion to thoſe holy men, who were conſtrained to ſing hymns to Chriſt, in dark places and retirements.

But I delight not to obſerve the correſpondencies of ſuch ſad accidents, which as they may happen upon divers cauſes, or may be forced violently by the ſtrength of fancy, or driven on by jealouſy, and the

the too fond openings of troubled hearts and afflicted ſpirits; ſo they do but help to vex the offending part, and relieve the afflicted with only a phantaſtic and groundleſs comfort; I will therefore deny leave to my own affections to eaſe themſelves by complaining of others: I ſhall only crave leave, that I may remember Jeruſalem, and call to mind the pleaſures of the temple—the order of her ſervices—the beauty of her buildings—the ſweetneſs of her ſongs—the decency of her miniſtrations—the aſſiduity and economy of her Prieſts and levites—the daily ſacrifice, and that eternal fire of devotion that went not out by day nor by night:—theſe were the pleaſures of our peace; and there is a remanent felicity in the very memory of thoſe ſpiritual delights, which we then enjoyed, as antepaſts of Heaven, and conſignations to an immortality of joys. And it may be ſo again when it ſhall pleaſe God,

God, who hath the hearts of all princes in his hand, and turneth them as rivers of waters :—and when men will conſider the invaluable loſs that is conſequent, and the danger of ſin that is appendent to the deſtroying ſuch forms of diſcipline and devotion, in which God was purely worſhipped, and the church was edified, and the people inſtructed to great degrees of piety, knowledge and devotion.

And ſuch is the Liturgy of the Church of England.—For to the churches of the Roman Communion, we can ſay that ours is reformed—to the reformed churches we can ſay, that ours is orderly and decent : for we are freed from the impoſitions and laſting errors of a tyrannical ſpirit, and yet from the extravagancies of a popular ſpirit too. Our reformation was done without tumult, and yet we ſaw it neceſſary to reform : we were zealous to caſt away the old errors, but our zeal was balanced with conſideration and

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the reſults of authority: not like women or children, when they are affrighted with fire in their clothes: we ſhook off the coal, indeed, but not our garments; leſt we ſhould have expoſed our churches to that nakedneſs, which the excellent men in our ſiſter churches complained to be among themſelves.

It was neceſſary for them to ſtay ſomewhere: Chriſtendom was not only reformed, but divided too, and every diviſion would to all ages have called for ſome alteration, or elſe have diſliked it publickly: and ſince all that caſt off the Roman yoke thought they had title enough to be called *Reformed*, it was hard to have pleaſed all the private intereſts and peeviſhneſs of men that called themſelves friends; and therefore that only in which the Church of Rome had prevaricated againſt the Word of God, or innovated againſt Apoſtolical tradition, all that was pared away. But at laſt ſhe fixed, and ſtrove no further

further to pleaſe the people, who never could be ſatisfied.

The painter, that expoſed his work to the cenſure of the common paſſengers, reſolving to mend it as long as any one could find fault, at laſt had brought the eyes to the ears, and the ears to the neck, and for his excuſe ſubſcribed—*this the People did:* but that which he made by the rules of art, and the advice of men ſkilled in the ſame myſtery, was the better piece. So the Church of England ſhould have pared away all the Canon of the Communion, if ſhe had mended her piece at the preſcription of the Zuinglians; and all her office of baptiſm, if ſhe had mended by the rules of the Anabaptiſts; and kept up altars ſtill by the example of the Lutherans; and not have retained decency by the good will of the Calviniſts: and now another new light is ſprung up, ſhe ſhould have no Liturgy at all, but the worſhip of God

God be left to the managing of chance, and indeliberation, and a petulant fancy.

I ſhall not need to procure advantages to the reputation of our Common Prayer, by conſidering the imperfections of whatſoever has been offered in its ſtead: but yet, a form of worſhip compoſed to the diſhonour of the reformation, accuſing it of darkneſs and intolerable inconvenience; a direction without a rule; a rule without reſtraint; a preſcription, leaving an indifferency to a poſſibility of licentiouſneſs; an office without any injunction of external acts of worſhip, not preſcribing ſo much as kneeling; an office that only once names reverence, but forbids it in the ordinary inſtance, and enjoins it in no particular; an office that leaves the form of miniſtration of ſacraments ſo indifferent, that if there be any form of words *eſſential*, the ſacrament is in much danger to become invalid, for want of proviſion of due forms

forms of miniſtration; an office that complies with no precedent of Scripture, nor of any ancient church; that muſt of neceſſity either want authority, or it muſt prefer novelty before antiquity; that accuſes all the primitive church of indiſcretion at the leaſt; that may be abuſed by the indiſcretion, or ignorance, or malice of any man that uſes it; into which hereſy and blaſphemy may creep, without poſſibility of prevention; that hath no external form to entertain the fancy of the more common ſpirits; nor any allurement to perſuade and entice its adverſaries; nor any means of adunation and uniformity amongſt its confidents; an office that ſtill permits children in many caſes of neceſſity to be unbaptized, making no proviſion for them in ſudden caſes; that will not ſuffer them to be confirmed at all, as St. Cyrian's phraſe is, that they may be advantaged by a double rite; that joins in marriage as Cacus

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did his oxen, in rude, in form, and unhallowed yokes; that will not do piety to the dead, nor comfort to the living, by ſolemn and honory offices of funeral; that hath no forms of bleſſing the people, any more than deſcribed forms of bleſſing God, which are juſt none at all; an office that never thinks of abſolving penitents, or exerciſing the power of the keys, after the cuſtom and rites of prieſts; a Liturgy that recites no Creed, no confeſſion of faith, ſo not declaring to Angels or men, according to what religion they worſhip God, but entertaining, though indeed without a ſymbol, Arians, Macedonians, Neſtorians, Manichees, or any other ſect, for ought there appears to the contrary; that conſigns no public Canon of Communion, but leaves that as caſual and phantaſtic as any of the leſſer offices; an office that takes no more care than chance does for the reading the Holy Scriptures; that never commemorates

rates a departed Saint; that hath no communion with the church triumphant, any more than with the other parts of the militant; that never thanks God for the redemption of the world by the nativity and paſſion, reſurrection and aſcenſion of our Bleſſed Saviour, Jeſus, but condemns the memorial even of the Scripture Saints, and the memorial of the miraculous bleſſings of human redemption by Chriſt himſelf, with the ſame accuſation it condems the legends and portentous ſtories of the moſt ſuſpected part of the Roman Calendar; an office that, out of zeal againſt Judaiſm, condemns all diſtinction of days, unleſs they themſelves diſtinguiſh them; that leaves no ſignature of piety upon the Lord's day, and yet the compilers do enjoin it to a Judaical ſuperſtition; an office that does by implication undervalue the Lord's Prayer, for it never enjoins it, and does but once permit it; an office that is new, without authority,

and never made up into a ſanction by an Act of Parliament:—an order and directory of devotion that has all theſe ingredients and capacities (and ſuch a one there is in the world) I ſuppoſe is no equal match to conteſt with and be put in balance againſt the Liturgy of the Church of England, which was with ſo great deliberation compiled out of Scriptures, and drawn from the Liturgies of the ancient church, and made by men famous in their generations, whoſe reputation and glory of martyrdom hath made it immodeſt for the beſt of men now to compare themſelves with them; and, after its compoſition, conſidered by advices from abroad, and ſo trimmed and adorned, that no excreſcency did remain; the rubrics of which book were written in the blood of many of the compilers: which hath had a teſtimony of God's bleſſing in the daily uſe of it, accompanying it with the peace of

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an age: eſtabliſhed and confirmed by ſix Acts of Parliament directly and collaterally: and is of ſo admirable a compoſure, that the moſt induſtrious wits of its enemies could never find out an objection of value enough to make a doubt, or ſcarce a ſcruple in a wiſe ſpirit: but that I ſhall not need to ſet a night piece by ſo excellent a beauty, to ſet if off the better, its own excellencies are orators prevalent enough, that it ſhall not need any advantages accidental.

Thus far, my gentle Reader, I preſume there is ſufficient reaſon to join in that juſt and expreſſive encomium given to this Biſhop by his Chaplain, at his Funeral; where he ſays, "our Author was none of God's ordinary works,"

works," and ſurely his Writings are extraordinary altogether: With theſe pieces I leave you to the affection and contemplation of his powers, which it will always be our happineſs to admire, and our glory to imitate.

FINIS.